







ALAM'S REPORTS

ON



VERNACULAR EDUCATION

IN

BENGAL AND BEHAR.

SUBMITTED TO GOVERNMENT IN 1835, 1836 AND 1838

WITH A BRIEF VIEW OF ITS PAST AND  
PRESENT CONDITION,

BY THE REV. J. LONG

CALCUTTA

PRINTED AT THE HOME SECRETARIAT PRESS

1868





# INTRODUCTION.

## BRIEF VIEW

OF THE

## PAST AND PRESENT STATE

OF

## VERNACULAR EDUCATION IN BENGAL.

ADAM'S Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal have long been held in high esteem for their valuable statistics and researches on a subject of great social and political importance—the intellectual condition of the masses of Bengal. The investigations were conducted with great diligence, and extended over a space of three years, at an expense to Government of more than a lac of rupees. In some points, as was to be expected from the difficulty of the enquiry, there are inaccuracies, but, on the whole, they afford a mass of information of great value.

As more energetic measures are about to be adopted towards the extension of Vernacular Education in Bengal, and as the Reports have long been out of print, it has been thought desirable to re-print those parts of them which bear on this vital question.

But as Adam's Reports close with 1838, it has been deemed necessary to give a *resumé* of what has been done in Bengal since that period towards carrying out a system of Vernacular Education, as well as to glance at its previous condition.

Mr. Ellerton at Malda established some Vernacular Schools in the beginning of this century, and in the leisure of his Factory composed various Bengali books for the use of his scholars. In 1814, Mr. May, a Missionary, began his first Vernacular School in the Dutch Fort of Chinsura. In June 1815 he had 16 schools and 951 pupils, which soon increased to twenty-six schools, besides some ten others six miles below Chinsura, visited by him and his assistants sixty times every three months. In 1815 Lord Hastings made a monthly grant of Rupees 600 to the schools, and stated in a Minute on the Schools, "the humble, but valuable, class of village schoolmasters claim the first place in this discussion." In 1816 there were 2,136 pupils, and a school for instructing teachers was commenced. In 1818 there were thirty-six schools and 3,000 pupils—but Mr. May was cut off by death, and Mr. Pearson then took charge. Mr. May's labors excited such interest, that after his death money arrived in Bengal from friends in America for the support of his schools. Mr. Lushington, Secretary to Government, in his "History of Calcutta Religious and Benevolent Institutions," remarks—"it may be safely asserted that the foundation of more extensive and higher knowledge

s surely laid in the establishment of those schools;" they were all conducted on the Bell and Lancaster system, which Mr. May had introduced into them with great success. Government availed itself of the services of Messrs. Pearson and Harley, who were Missionaries, to establish a number of Vernacular Schools between Kalna and Chanderanagar. Crowds attended the schools, but their efforts, through not having suitable successors, were not followed up. Yet the seeds of knowledge they sowed in the Vernacular have fructified into the English schools which are now in Chinsura. Some of the best Educational Works in the Vernacular were composed for those schools. In 819 Messrs. Pearson and Harley had under their superintendence at Chinsura seventeen schools and 1,500 children; at Bankipur twelve schools and 1,266 children, all conducted on the Madras system, and supported by Government at an expense per mensem of Rupees 800. Dr. Bell's "Instructions for modelling schools" were translated and introduced. Mr. Pearson writes—"I have heard it spoken of by the Natives as wonderful to see a boy in ours at losing his place in the class." The Court of Directors made a special grant to those schools, in which the pupils learned more rapidly than in the common schools.

Lushington, in his "History of Calcutta Institutions," gives the following notice of Mr. May's exertions :—

"At the beginning of July 1811, this benevolent and meritorious individual, while residing at Chinsura as a Dissenting minister, with a very narrow income, opened a school in his dwelling-house, proposing gratuitously to teach the natives reading, writing, and arithmetic. On the first day sixteen boys attended. In the course of the month of August the scholars became too numerous to be accommodated under his lowly roof, a spacious apartment being allotted to him in the Fort by Mr. Forbes, the Commissioner of Chinsura, the list of attendance at the commencement of October had swelled to ninety-two. In January 1815 Mr. May opened a village or branch school, at a short distance from Chinsura, and in the following month of June, not twelve months since the commencement of his undertaking, he had established sixteen schools, including the central one at Chinsura, to which 951 pupils resorted.

"Mr. May encountered some slight impediments in the commencement of his labours from the prejudices of the natives, chiefly, however, among the old teachers of the indigenous schools, who, from interested motives, naturally did not fail to foment the apprehensions at first entertained by some, that he intended to convert them to Christianity. His wise and conciliatory measures, however, soon removed distrust from their minds, and satisfied them that he meditated no interference with their religious opinions. The objection of the school-masters did not long exist, for the extension of the branch schools on the new principle, ultimately created a demand for additional teachers, who were, in many cases, provided from the class above mentioned. Although the opposition alluded to was ultimately overcome, it must not be supposed that the establishment of the schools was achieved without considerable difficulty: the introduction alone of a new plan of education among an ignorant people, notorious for their indolence, apathy, and attachment to established habits, involving frequent journeys, visits, and conferences, effected in an hostile climate, and with very imperfect accommodation, required no common

exertion of patience, self-denial, fortitude, and perseverance. Add to this the labour of superintendence, and Mr May's indefatigable efforts may be justly appreciated. The branch schools were situated, some of them ten miles above, and some six miles below, Chinsma, nevertheless, Mr. May and his assistants contrived to visit twenty-six branch schools sixty times in three months.

"The success of Mr. May, and his unexceptionable mode of intercourse with the natives having been brought by Mr. Forbes to the notice of the Government, a monthly sum of 600 rupees was granted to enable Mr. May to prosecute his undertaking, Mr. Forbes being desired to superintend the detailed application of the funds.

"Towards the latter end of 1815, the attendance on Mr May's establishments was somewhat diminished by the formation of several schools by natives, partly from motives of ostentation, and partly with views of opposition to Mr May, but it soon became manifest that his plan of education was as mollensive to their prejudices, as it was superior to their own mode of instruction, and its progress now exceeded his most sanguine expectation.

"The attendance of the children in the Fort being inconvenient, the central school was removed to a short distance from Chinsma, and Mr May, adverting to the increase of the schools, and the great augmentation of the number of children on the books, which amounted, early in 1816, to 2,136, projected the formation of a school for teachers, as necessary to the extension of his plan, and the perpetuation of the means of instruction. A few youths were accordingly taken on probation, their education, food and clothes being furnished to them free of expense. After performing for a time the duties of monitors at the central school, and receiving more especial instructions from Mr May, they were sent to the village schools, to learn accurately the plan observed there, and thus they became qualified to discharge the duties of instructors themselves. So popular was the latter institution, that a blind man performed a journey of three days on foot for the purpose of securing a place in it for his nephew.

"Nor did the higher class of natives in the vicinity withhold their confidence from the general scheme of education. The Rajah of Bindwan, and two other individuals of consideration, each established a school, the former of whom subsequently transferred his school to English superintendence. From the earliest stage, one-third of the children in attendance at the schools were Brahmans. At first a Brahman boy would not sit down on the same mat with one of another caste. The teachers also made the same objection, which has of late been voluntarily relinquished.

"In August 1818 Mr May's course of usefulness was arrested by death, but this excellent man was not removed from the scene of his labours until he had witnessed how complete was then present beneficial operation, to which satisfaction he might have added, had his modest and unassuming nature admitted of it, the anticipation that future generations would be indebted to his care for their redemption from ignorance and degradation. At the time of his decease, the existence of thirty-six schools, attended by above 3,000 natives, both Hindus and Mohammedans, attested his zeal, his prudence, and benevolent perseverance. Mr May was succeeded in the charge of the Government Schools by Mr. Pearson, who, assisted by Mr. Hurley, followed his footsteps with equal ability and judgment. The endeavours of these gentlemen were, at first, chiefly directed to the introduction of further improvements in the native education, the plan of instruction approaching, as nearly as possible, to that adopted in the National Society's Schools in England, with the modifications suggested by local circumstances, and some ingenious and expedient additions made by the new managers."

"The work of Vernacular education in connexion with the Church Missionary Society, was begun in *Burdwan* under the superintendence of Captain Stewart in 1816, by his establishing two Vernacular Schools; in 1818 they increased to ten, containing 1,000 children, costing monthly 240 rupees. Captain Stewart, at the commencement of his labours, encountered considerable opposition: reports were industriously circulated among the natives that it was his design to ship all the children to England, and it was then sufficient objection to a book being read if it contained the name of Jesus, and a case occurred near *Burdwan* where a Hindu, rather than give up his child to be educated by the missionary, left it out at night to be devoured by jackals! There were five Brahmanical schools in *Burdwan*, the masters of which were afraid that their own institutions should be broken up by the Missionary School; they, therefore, fulminated curses against any natives who should send their children to Captain Stewart's schools, but he chose his teachers from the ablest natives in the villages where his schools were to be established, and thus he disarmed opposition by the bait of interest, and the five Brahmanical schools were soon abandoned. The introduction of printed books into the schools at first caused some alarm; the natives apprehended it was some plan for ensnaring their children and destroying their caste! as all instruction was previously conveyed through manuscript, and it was remarked of the village masters, 'if you put a book into their hands, they are unable to read it, except with great difficulty, and are still less able to understand its general contents'. Captain Stewart carried out the system of the late Mr. May, of Chinsura, with improvements of his own. Besides the outlines of astronomy, and of the History of England, which were introduced into these schools, Captain Stewart also caused instruction to be given "in some few of the preambles of the Honorable Company's Regulations, which are particularly calculated to convince the people of India that Government anxiously desire to promote their comfort and advantage. In reading these, their first and most deeply-rooted impressions are in favour of their rulers, and submission will consequently follow from attachment and love."

The Rev. T. Robertson, in 1818, makes the following remarks respecting the mode of tuition:—

"Once a month the head classes from all the schools are brought into *Burdwan* by their respective teachers, when a general examination takes place. It is thus seen which of the schools has made the greatest progress. Two classes are confronted with each other, and examined by the visitor in all the subjects learned during the past month. After this the boys are allowed to question each other. The highest boy of one class puts his question to the highest boy of the other, if he cannot reply, it passes down to each in succession, until it reaches the last. If any boy is able to solve it, he takes precedence, but if not, a mark is made of the failure. This class is now at liberty in its turn to put a question to the other, which, if not answered, is noticed as in the former case. In the end 1

appears who is the conquered party. It generally happens that the vanquished party now challenges the opposite class to contend in some other subject, and thus a new trial of strength commences. As the children are in the habit of writing from a thesis, they are on this occasion publicly tried as to their progress. A thesis being given, each boy writes it down on his slate, and endeavours to arrange his thoughts on the subject. When all have finished, their productions are read aloud, which excites much emulation, and affords at the same time great amusement. Nothing can exceed the animation and eagerness of the boys to excel in these trials. Indeed, we should look in vain for an equal degree of emulation in Europe.

"In our seminaries the children know of no precedence but that which is derived from merit. The Brahman sits by the side of his ignoble neighbour, and must be content oftentimes to stand below him in his class. On the contrary, the boy of inferior caste, if he excel the Brahman, which he oftentimes does, begins to believe a maxim true which he learnt in his school book, that God hath not created men with rights differing from each other, but that he hath created all men of one blood to dwell on all the face of the earth."

When the Calcutta School Society undertook, in 1819, the management of a number of Vernacular Schools in Calcutta, it sent its superintendent for five months to Burdwan to learn the system of Captain Stewart's schools, as he educated a greater number of children with fewer teachers, and at half the expense of the old system.\*

Writing by dictation, and the giving the morals of fables out of their class books, also formed a part of the course of instruction. "The boys themselves delight in the lively application of a fable, and the attempt to give it sharpens their wit, and improves their language,—moral truths come to them with a sort of fascinating conviction, when dressed up in the form of a fable." The following questions are a specimen of this mode of instruction:—  
 "What is it unwise to do? To do anything without consideration.—*Example The Lion and the Fox.* How is a man's want of ability shown? By his attempting to do what is beyond his capacity.—*Example The Spider and Bee.* How may we promote our own happiness? By giving help to our needy neighbour.—*Example The Dove and Bee.*"

In 1817 Dr. Marshman published a valuable work "Hints relative to Native Schools;" it gave the sketch of a system of National Education, one object he laid down was—

"A peasant, or an artificer, thus rendered capable of writing as well as reading his own language with propriety, and made acquainted with the principles of arithmetic, would be less liable to become a prey to fraud among his own countrymen, and far better able to claim for himself that protection from oppression, which it is the desire of every enlightened government to grant."

Besides the ordinary reading, writing, and arithmetic, were to be taught "a concise but perspicuous account of the Solar

\* The First Report of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee, pp. 7, 10.

System preceded by so much of the laws of motion, of attraction and gravity, as might be necessary to render the solar system plain and intelligible. These ideas, however, should not be communicated in the form of a treatise, but in that of simple axioms delivered in short and perspicuous sentences. A compendious view of Geography, and a number of popular truths and facts relative to Natural Philosophy were taught. In the present improved state of knowledge a thousand things have been ascertained relative to light, heat, air, water, to meteorology, mineralogy, chemistry, and natural history, of which the ancients had but a partial knowledge, and of which the natives of the east have as yet scarcely the faintest idea. These facts, now so clearly ascertained, could be conveyed in a very short compass of language, although the process of reasoning, which enables the mind to account for them, occupies many volumes. Imparting to them that knowledge relative to themselves, to their responsibility for their actions, their state both here and hereafter, and the grand principles of piety, justice, and humanity, which may lighten their minds from their earliest youth." Tables printed in large type and pasted on boards were to be suspended round the room, and to be used for reading exercises. One peculiarity of the plan was—

"Instruction of a higher order was to be given from dictation. The monitor, with the text book in his hand, was to pronounce a portion of each sentence audibly and deliberately, each boy writing it down in his copy book. When the lesson of the day was completed, it was to be revised by the monitor, and the number of errors inserted at the foot of the page. Each boy was then to read it aloud in succession, sentence by sentence. The advantages of this scheme of instruction were obvious, one printed book served for a dozen children, they made progress in penmanship and orthography, and also acquired a facility of reading and writing their own language. A spirit of emulation and emulation was created, and instruction was combined with pleasure. The most important facts and truths, thus written from dictation and read over three or four times, could not fail to remain deeply impressed on the memory."

The expense of each School was reckoned at 16 rupees a month. They were successful; 100 Schools were established among the Natives; in the first year 8,000 rupees were received in subscriptions and donations.

"They had established an experimental Normal School at Serampore, in which the masters then employed by them had been, to a certain extent, trained to their new duties. The first school opened on this plan was at the village of Nabobgunge, about four miles distant from Serampore. To convince the inhabitants, they had been desired to select a master themselves, whom they sent to the training school. Village after village had followed the example, and despatched the individual of their choice for instruction to Serampore. Nineteen schools had been established within the space of a few miles, and all at the request of the people themselves. In some instances men of influence had offered their own houses, and in other cases the family temple, for a school-room; houses had in some places been erected by men of property in the hope that they would be rented. Children were attracted to the schools from the most respectable families

and one particular school numbered ten Brahman youths. In one instance, a body of more than twenty boys came to Serampore from a distance of many miles, accompanied by the principal inhabitants of the village, to solicit the establishment of a school."

Previous to 1817, David Hare, a name dear to the Natives, a watchmaker by trade, instead of retiring to Europe, had devoted his remaining years and savings to Native Education. He, in conjunction with the late Raja Radhakant Deva, a Sanscrit scholar of European celebrity, employed much time in improving the existing Vernacular Schools. One of his pupils, who studied at one of the Vernacular Schools established by him in Calcutta, thus describes his efforts—

"Mr. Hare's educational efforts were directed in the first place toward the encouragement of the Vernacular. He supplemented the deficiencies of numerous Gurm pitshalas by the employment of inspecting pundits and the grant of printed books. Periodical examinations were also held at Raja Radhakant Deva's Garden House, and prizes given. He then established a sort of Central Vernacular School directly under the School Society. This was a large institution and numbered about 200 boys. It was the best Vernacular School of the day. For the encouragement of regular attendance, each child got eight annas a month if he was not absent a single day during that month. If absent only one day he got six annas, if two days four annas, and if he were absent more than two days then he got nothing. Distinguished lads from the Vernacular Schools were sent to the Hindoo College, in which the Society always maintained 30 boys. An English School was afterwards established adjoining the Central Vernacular—a number of select boys of the Vernacular School would attend the English classes also. It was thus—From sunrise until 9 P. M., Vernacular, from 10½ A. M. to 2½ P. M., English; from 3½ A. M. to sunset, Vernacular again."

In 1817, the *Calcutta School Book Society* was founded to prepare and publish cheap books for Native schools; however, this Society has not yet given cheap books adapted to the masses, as *books*, previous to 1817, were used in the indigenous schools. In May 1821 this Society received from Government a donation of Rupees 7,000, and a monthly grant of Rupees 500.

In 1818, the *Calcutta School Society* was founded (under the presidency of the Marquess of Hastings) with the following object :—

"That its design be to assist and improve existing schools, and to establish and support any further schools and seminaries which may be requisite, with a view to the more general diffusion of useful knowledge amongst the inhabitants of India of every description, especially within the provinces subject to the Presidency of Fort William."



"That it be also an object of this Society to select pupils of distinguished talents and merit from elementary and other schools, and to provide for their instruction in seminaries of a higher degree; with the view of forming a body of qualified teachers and translators, who may be instrumental in enlightening their countrymen, and improving the general system of education. When the funds of the Institution may admit of it, the maintenance and tuition of such pupils, in distinct seminaries, will be an object of importance."

In 1821, it had 115 Vernacular Schools, containing 3,828 scholars, under its patronage, *i. e.*, it gave books, examining and superintending the schools by its officers and agents. In 1823, they received a monthly grant of Rupees 500 from Government, and worked admirably until 1833.

Adam's Report, pp. 21, 22, 23, gives a fuller detail respecting it.

In 1819, the London Missionary Society directed its attention to Vernacular schools, "impressed with a sense of the exceeding great importance of well conducted schools in this country." They established them in 1820 at Chitla and other places in the neighbourhood of Tallygunge, but there were strong prejudices at that time amongst the natives against attending schools where the Scriptures were read. Still in 1820 a Vernacular School attended by 25 boys was opened in a bungalow chapel at Kidderpore.

The Calcutta Church Missionary Association had for many years 600 children under instruction in their Vernacular Schools in Calcutta. The Baptist Missionary Society had also several hundreds.

In 1821, the Calcutta School Society transferred some of its schools to the Church Missionary Society, and Mr. Jetter became Superintendent of them. An examination of 600 boys took place in 1822; Sir E. H. East, the Chief Justice, who was one of the founders of the Hindu College, presided. Mr. Jetter states, in 1822, that the mention of the name of Jesus in a book has kept several boys away from school; that on introducing writing by dictation into a class, he offered one boy a tract as a prize for his good dictation,—the boy flung it on the ground saying it contained the words of Jesus Christ. In one of Mr. Jetter's schools, the teacher objected to instruct the boys out of a book in which the name occurred, on which a Brahman stood up and said—do not be afraid, I have read the book, and am not a Christian. this gave confidence, and the book was read. The Church Missionary Association in 1821 took the greater part of these schools under their management. In 1825 Mr. Penchafit, on every Saturday evening, explained to the pundits the books taught by them in the schools: "their attention is increasing, and their inquiries often lead to important discussions; they are alternately instructed in the scriptures, the catechism, and geography; one of them reads a sentence, after which he asks the other

the meaning of the words ; I ask them questions arising from the subject, and put them in the way of questioning their scholars." Mr. Reichardt, who superintended twelve Vernacular Schools, containing 700 boys, gives, as the result of his experience, the following discouraging circumstances connected with the Vernacular Schools of that day : " It is optional with the boys whether they come or not, as the parents do not compel them. Festivals and marriages give perpetual interruptions. Conversation at home is like a mildew on any sound principles or good manners : nearly all the good seed sown at schools is choked by the bad practices in which the boys' relations and friends live. The teachers are indolent." \*

Miss Coke began, in connection with the Church Missionary Society, and under the patronage of the Marchioness of Hastings, *Female Schools* in Calcutta in 1821. Though previous to that some desultory efforts had been made by a few young ladies ; in 1822 she had twenty-two Schools and 400 pupils. The *Central School* was founded in 1824, and in 1837 the Agartara Orphan Refuge.

About 1822 the Christian Knowledge Society began the system of "*School Circles*," each circle containing five Bengali Schools and one Central School. One of these circles was called the Tollygunj, another the Kasipore, another the Howrah Circle ; in 1834 they contained 697 pupils, but being subsequently transferred to the Propagation Society, the funds of the latter were appropriated to other operations, and the Schools were given up.

These are the first instances of Circle Schools which are now becoming increasingly popular in Bengal.\*

A few desultory efforts continued to be made in subsequent years, a battle raged between the Orientalists and Anglicists, and the masses were overlooked. Lord W. Bentinck with real sympathy for the people and for works of peace gave encouragement to roads and education.

Mr. Adam, originally a Missionary, came forward, and, on the 2nd of January 1835, addressed a letter on the subject of popular education to Lord W. Bentinck, to which his Lordship gave a reply on the 20th of the same month. The letter and Lord W. Bentinck's Minute are to be found in pp. 1 to 13 of Adam's Report.

Adam's system of Vernacular Education was based pretty much on the old municipal system of the Hindus, by which each village had its Chief, its accounts, its priest, smith, carpenter, potter, barber, washerman, poet, doctor, and, though last, not least, its

\* There were in the Kasipore Circle three Schools with an average attendance of 200 boys, in the Tollygunj Circle seven Schools and 500 pupils, in the Howrah Circle four Schools and 650 pupils, and over 100 daily attendants. There was a Guru to each, while the English and Superintending Missionaries visited the Schools by turns. Scripture, Grammar, Geography and Natural Philosophy were taught. Each School received Rs. 15 monthly, the Guru was paid according to the number and proficiency of the scholars in the first four classes.

vikage or hedge School-master called a *Guru Mahashay*. The village system was a brotherhood, it has survived the ruins of Empires, as Lord Metcalfe wrote, "Hindee, Pathan, Mogul, Mahratta, Sikh and English are all masters in turn—but the village community remains the same." Bengal is an exception.

Mr. Adam calculated there were more than 100,000 of these schools in Bengal and Behar, and that the great object ought to be not to supersede, but to supplement them. He has furnished in his Reports full information of the subjects taught, the teachers' pay and emoluments, but one peculiar feature in those schools he has omitted—the singular punishments resorted to. We extract from the Calcutta Review No. IV., p. 334, a description of 15 different kinds of punishments used; these, however, are now gradually falling into disuse—

"A boy is made to bend forward with his face toward the ground; a heavy brick is then placed on his back, and another on his neck; and should he let either of them fall, within the prescribed period of half an hour or so, he is punished with the cane.

"A boy is condemned to stand for half an hour or an hour on one foot; and, should he shake or quiver or let down the uplifted leg before the time, he is severely punished.

"A boy is made to sit on the floor in an exceedingly constrained position, with one leg turned up behind his neck.

"He is made to sit with his feet resting on two bricks, and his head bent down between both legs, with his hands twisted round each leg so as painfully to catch the ears.

"A boy is made to hang for a few minutes, with his head downwards, from the branch of a neighbouring tree.

"His hands and feet are bound with cords, to these members so bound a rope is fastened, and the boy is then hoisted up by means of a pulley attached to the beams or rafters of the school.

"Nettles, dipped in water, are applied to the body, which becomes irritated and swollen, the pain is excruciating and often lasts a whole day, but, however great the itching and the pain, the sufferer is not allowed to rub or touch the skin for relief, under the threat of a flagellation in addition.

"The boy is put up in a sack along with some nettles, or a cat, or some other noisome creature, and then rolled along the ground.

"The fingers of both hands are inserted across each other with a stick between and two sticks without drawn close together and tied.

"A boy is made to measure so many cubits on the ground, by marking it along with the tip of his nose.

"Four boys are made to seize another, two holding the arms and two the feet, they then alternately swing him and throw him violently to the ground.

"Two boys are made to seize another by the ears, and, with these organs well-outstretched, he is made to run along for the amusement of the by-standers.

"A boy is constrained to pull his own ears; and, if he fail to extend them sufficiently, he is visited with a sorer chastisement.

"Two boys, when both have given offence, are made to knock their heads several times against each other.

"The boy who first comes to school in the morning receives one stroke of the cane on the palm of the hand, the next receives two strokes, and so each in succession, as he arrives, receives a number of strokes equal to the number of boys that preceded him,—the first being the privileged administrator of them all."

*On the tricks played on the Guru Mahashay.*—"In preparing his hooknah, it is a common trick for the boys to mix the tobacco with *chillies* and other pungent ingredients; so that when he smokes, he is made to cough violently, while the whole school is convulsed with laughter;—or, beneath the mat on which he sits, may be strewn thorns and sharp prickles, which soon display their effects in the contortions of the crest-fallen and discomfited master;—or, at night, he is way-laid by his pupils, who, from their concealed position in a tree, or thicket, or behind a wall, pelt him well with pebbles, bricks, or stones;—or, once more, they rehearse doggerel songs, in which they implore the gods, and more particularly Kali, to remove him by death—vowing, in the event of the prayer being heard, to present offerings of sugar and coconuts."

*On the plans for escaping from School.*—"The boys have cunning plans for escaping from school. To throw boiled rice on domestic vessels ceremonially defiles them;—hence, when a boy is bent on a day's release from school, he peremptorily disobeys his admonishing mother, saying, 'No, If you insist on my going, I shall throw about the boiled rice—a threat which usually gains him the victory. If a person of a different caste, or unbathed, or with shoes on his feet, touched the boiled rice or pot of another, it is polluted;—hence, when a boy effects his escape from school, he often hastens to some kitchen, touches the boiled rice, or the pots in which it has been boiled, and thus becomes himself polluted, and until he bathes, no one can touch or seize him without being polluted too. A temporary impunity is thus secured. At other times the boy finds his way to filthy and unclean places, where he remains for hours or a whole day, defying the master and his emissaries to touch him—knowing full well that they cannot do so without partaking of his own contracted pollution. So determined are boys to evade the tortuous system of discipline that, in making good their escape, they often wade or swim through tanks, or along the current of running streams, with large earthen pots over their heads, so that the suspicion of passers-by, or of those in pursuit, is not even excited—seeing that naught appears on the surface but a floating pot;—or they run off and climb into the loftiest neighbouring tree, where they laugh to scorn the efforts of their assailants to dislodge them. In the recent case of one personally known to our informant, the runaway actually remained for three days on the top of a coconut tree, vigorously hurling the coconuts, as missiles, at the heads of all who attempted to ascend for the purpose of securing him."

Such were the Schools,—no wonder Mr. Adam concludes his reports with the following remarks:—

"I cannot, however, expect that the reading of the report should convey the impressions which I have received from daily witnessing the mere animal-life to which ignorance consigns its victims, unconscious of any wants or enjoyments beyond those which they participate with the beasts of the field—unconscious of any of the higher purposes for which existence has been bestowed, bounty has been constituted, and government is exercised. I am not acquainted with any facts which permit me to suppose that, in any other country subject to an enlightened government, and brought into direct and immediate contact with European civilization, in an equal population, there is an equal amount of ignorance with that which has been shown to exist in this district. While ignorance is so extensive, can it be matter of wonder that poverty is extreme, that industry languishes,

that crime prevails, and that in the adoption of measures of policy, however salutary or anchoring their tendency, government cannot reckon with confidence on the moral support of an intelligent and instructed community? Is it possible that a benevolent, a wise, a just government can allow this state of things any longer to continue?"

Notwithstanding this state of things and Mr. Adam's three laborious reports exposing it, the Calcutta Council of Education decided:—

"They were of opinion that the execution of the plan would be 'almost impracticable,' and that it would also involve more expense than Mr. Adam supposed. 'A further experience,' they add, 'and a more mature consideration of the important subject of Education in this country, has led us to adhere to the opinion formerly expressed by us, that our efforts should be at first concentrated to the chief towns or sudder stations of districts, and to the improvement of education among the higher and middling classes of the population, in the expectation that through the agency of these scholars, an educational reform will descend to the rural Vernacular Schools, and its benefits be rapidly transfused among all those excluded in the first instance by object want from a participation in its advantages.'"

Time has shewn the fallacy of this conclusion. Mr. Woodrow, Inspector of Schools, who has thoroughly and practically studied the question, estimated in 1861, 22 years after the rejection of Mr. Adam's plans, that, including every variety of Schools, Government, Missionary and Indigenous, in the richest and most populous portion of Bengal, there are about three persons in every hundred under education; while the proportion under instruction in England is one in 7½, in all India it is one in 100. Dr. Monat, the Inspector of Jails, and for many years Secretary to the Council of Education, in his last Report of the Jails in Bengal in 1867, states:—

"Of the 95,951 prisoners in prison in 1866—321 or 0.34 per cent. were fairly educated for their position in life, 5,367 males and seventeen females, or 5.61 per cent could read and write, and 85,075 males and 5,168 or 94.05 per cent were entirely ignorant. In the preceding five years from 1861 to 1865—2,974 men and two women, or 0.98 per cent were fairly educated, 20,798 males and thirty-one females, or 6.87 per cent, could read and write, and 269,014 men and 10,196 women, or 92.15 per cent, were absolutely ignorant."

"The collection of these statistics shows that, marvellous as the progress of the University of Calcutta is, the education of the mass of the people who form the bulk of the criminal population makes no advance, if the offenders against the law be a fair sample of the state of the general population in this important particular."

Mr. Adam resigned his office in disgust at his plans being rejected. Lord Hardinge in 1841 established 101 Vernacular Schools, but they failed necessarily, as they were placed under no

proper supervision; light, however, sprang up in the North-West; and the peasantry, who had been from time immemorial the puppets of despots, found in Mr. Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, a friend who took his views of education not from Calcutta, but from the *people*. Five years after the Calcutta Council of Education had shelved Mr. Adam's admirable reports, Mr. Thomason commenced his plans for popular education in 1813, the last year of existence of that warm friend to Vernacular Education, Mr. Wilkinson. On the North-West Provinces being separated from Calcutta, he promulgated the statement that "to produce any perceptible impression on the public mind in the North-West Provinces, it must be through the medium of the Vernacular languages." The smaller English schools were abolished, and instruction in English was confined to the Colleges.

In 1815, Mr. Thomason issued a circular to Collectors and their subordinates, pointing out how Vernacular reading, writing, arithmetic, and mensuration bore on the people's interests, directing that they should encourage the village teachers whom the people select—"Encourage both by kindly notice and by occasional rewards the most distinguished of them and of their scholars; they might be aided by the distribution of books." Mr. Thomason forwarded statistical tables after Adam's plan on Vernacular Education for them to fill up; this was followed out by sending to each Collector six of the Indigenous Books on spelling, arithmetic, mensuration, to be shown and lent to rouse the people to a sense of their wants. "Two important points were aimed at—the imparting to the peasantry certain plain practical everyday knowledge," and that "the popular mind having been roused by a keen sense of *personal interest*, a higher system of intellectual culture may be universally introduced." An inspector was appointed to report upon Village Schools. *Vernacular Libraries* were formed for distributing elementary Vernacular works among the Village Schools, rewards for the proficiency of their pupils were offered to the school-masters, lists of the works proposed for study were published. A Circular was issued to all Collectors and Magistrates, directing their attention to Vernacular Education, and to the great principle of it—"Carry the people with you, aid their efforts rather than remove from them all stimulus to exertion by making all the effort yourself." A portion of Adam's third Report was re-printed and circulated among Government Officers, and some of it was translated for the guidance of natives; specimens of various Vernacular works were sent to native officers to be shown to Zemindars, &c. In 1816, the Court of Directors approved of Mr. Thomason taking up Vernacular Education, and cordially admitted "the necessity of giving some powerful impulse to Elementary Education in the North-West

• **Provinces.** Sixteen thousand five hundred of Mr. Thomason's *Elementary Treatises* were sold.

In 1850, the Lieutenant-Governor obtained the sanction of the Home authorities to a plan for the extension and more perfect supervision of Vernacular Education. It was proposed to afford an education suited to the wants of the agricultural classes, and hopes of permanent success were drawn from the following considerations:—

“There are few of the agricultural classes who are not possessed of some rights of property in the soil. In order to explain and protect these rights, a system of registration has been devised, which is based on the Survey made at the time of settlement, and which annually shews the state of the property. It is necessary for the correctness of this register, that those whose rights it records should be able to consult it, and to ascertain the nature of the entries affecting themselves. This involves a knowledge of reading and writing, of the simple rules of arithmetic, and of land measurement. The means are thus afforded for setting before the people the practical bearing of learning on the safety of the rights in land, which they most highly prize, and it is hoped that when the powers of the mind have once been excited into action, the pupils may often be induced to advance further, and to persevere till they reach a higher state of intellectual cultivation.”

But the most remarkable results have been witnessed in the Agra Jail under Dr. Walker: he began first in the Mainpuri Jail, teaching the prisoners to read from immense alphabet rolls, and to write on the black board. He next introduced his plan in 1851 into the Agra Prison. The Inspector of Prisons has reported of it—“Nothing is so conducive to the improvement of discipline as jail education.” The system of mutual instruction is adopted. They are engaged at reading, writing, and arithmetic from half-past four to half-past six p. m. Two thousand receive daily instruction, at an average annual expense of six annas a head, or 2 pice a month! Dr. Walker gives the following account of his system:—

“To test the progress of the prisoner pupils, voluntary examinations are held twice a month, when those who pass satisfactorily, receive as prizes the books required for the subsequent examination, and as an incentive to future application, they are furnished with certificates of good conduct, which entitles them to send a letter to their relatives and friends, and if presented on any Saturday morning within three months after date, to an interview; sometimes a little sweetmeat and fruit is distributed, and a bath in the river Jumna, or a visit to the Royal Gardens at the Taj, or Secundra, is permitted, as an additional incentive to study and good conduct.”

“After having mastered the Elementary School Sheets, including the Alphabet, and the combination of the Letters, Proper Names, the Multiplication Table, and Tables of Money and Weights, &c., they are prepared for the first examination.”

"Before a prisoner can pass the first examination, he must be able—

- I.—To read the Surajpur kahani, (a Village Tale).
- II.—To repeat the Multiplication Table up to  $18 \times 16$ .
- III.—To repeat the Multiplication of Fractions up to  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 25$ :

"The requirements for the second examination are—

- I.—Repetition of the former examination.
- II.—Arithmetic, including Simple and Compound Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication and Division, Calculations for rates, Commission and Simple Interest—(No. II. of Rai Ram Surn Das' Series, being the text book).
- III.—The Patra Malika, or Letter Writer.
- IV.—The Kisan Opdesh; being a brief explanation of the Revenue System and Village Accounts.
- V.—The Shudhi-Darpan, a popular Treatise on Hygiene, explaining the advantages of cleanliness, method and order.
- VI.—The Khagol-Sar, a brief Treatise on Astronomy.

"The subject of the third examination is the Mensuration of fields, as contained in Part III. of Rai Ram Surn Das' Series.

"The subject of the fourth examination is the details of Patwari accounts, as contained in Part IV. of Rai Ram Surn Das' Series.

"The subjects for the fifth examination are—

- I.—Arithmetic, including Simple and Compound Proportion, as contained in Parts I. and II. of the Ganit Prakash.
- II.—The Gyan Chahash Biburn, being forty moral maxims in verso with explanations and deductions.
- III.—The Gunkari-updesh-ka Sankshep or select moral maxims from the best sources.

"The subjects for the sixth examination are—

- I.—Fractions as contained in Part II. of the Ganit Prakash.
- II.—Geography."

Dr. Monat, Secretary to the Calcutta Council of Education, who saw the system in operation in the Jail, remarks respecting it :—

"The old, the middle-aged, and the young, the murderer confined for life, and the perpetrator of petty larceny, paying the penalty of his offence by a few days or weeks of imprisonment, men and women, have all been subjected to the ordeal. Many who were unacquainted with the alphabet, and to whom the powers of letters in combination had been an unknown mystery, until advancing age had left them scarcely enough of unaided sight to trace the letters on the board, have been taught to spell, read, connect sentences, and write. The greatest amount of general proficiency which has been attained is in the use of figures, and multiplying them to an extent quite unknown to our English system of arithmetic. At all times and in all places is the sound of many voices heard following a leader in the multiplication of odd, even, and fractional numbers. At its appointed time it pervaded every department of the prison, which then resembled a vast, animated, calculating machine. As a means of prison discipline, it appears to me to be impossible to over-rate the value and advantages of this system. It leaves the vicious and ill-disposed no time



to concoct evil measures, to organize conspiracy, or to contaminate those less steeped in crime and hardened in vice than themselves. To the well disposed it affords an occupation, furnishes a means of passing time that would otherwise hang heavy, and implants a taste for pursuits that will render them profitable members of society, when again let loose upon the world. To some of the prisoners I could perceive that the task was distasteful and a sore punishment, but the majority spoke in terms of unfeigned, and, I am convinced, sincere gratitude of the change for the better, which they acknowledged to have been wrought in their condition. The better feelings of their nature have been roused. They are no longer considered and treated as savage and dangerous animals, to be broken into subjection by harshness and starvation, and they exhibit many humanizing sympathies in their demeanour and acts. Not the least creditable part of the whole proceeding is the simple and inexpensive machinery by which all this has been accomplished. The prisoners themselves are the chief agents in their own amelioration, and have exhibited a docility and perseverance that are no mean tests of the success and value of the system."

To this evidence we append the remarks of the late Lieutenant-Governor :—

"The prevalent taste for Mathematics has been seized upon in its practical bearing on land surveying, the mechanical arts, and mercantile transactions. Euclid is already a favorite text book, the surveying compass and plane table are rapidly becoming household implements. There is not one of the 3,000,000 men, who cultivate the 100,000,000 acres in these eight Districts, who may not be taught that the field he tills is a Geometrical figure, the extent of which he ought to be able to measure."

In 1852, the *Halkahundi*, similar to the Bengal Circle, system was begun; it was formed of Village Schools set in the midst of a cluster of villages—none of which were more than two miles distant from the school—and *paid for by a cess*. This cess and system now prevail in the greater part of every district in the North-West Provinces.

In 1853, the Hon'ble Mr. J. Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces; the father of Vernacular Education in North India, died; his death called forth a Minute from Lord Dalhousie on the 23th of October, in which occur the following sentiments :—

"Five years ago I had the honor of recommending to the Honorable Court of Directors a scheme prepared by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, for the promotion of Vernacular Education, by the institution of schools in each taluqa on the part of the Government. The scheme, which was designed ultimately for the whole of the thirty-one districts within the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor, was limited by His Honor for the time to eight of these districts.

"The Honorable Court was pleased to accede to the recommendation of the Government, in the despatch No 14, 3rd October 1849, and the scheme was thereafter carried into effect.

"Three years have since elapsed, and I now submit to my Honorable Colleagues, with feelings of genuine satisfaction, a despatch, in which the late Lieutenant-Governor announced to the Supreme Government the eminent success of this experiment, and asked that the scheme of Vernacular Education should now be extended, in its full integrity, to all the

districts within the jurisdiction of the Government of the North-Western Provinces.

"Alluding to the districts in which the Government schools have not yet been established, Mr. Thomason has said—

"In all these parts there is a population no less teeming, and a people as capable of learning. The same wants prevail, and the same moral obligation rests upon the Government, to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance. The means are shown by which a great effect can be produced, the cost at which they can be brought into operation is calculated, the agency is available. It needs but the sanction of the highest authority to call into exercise, throughout the length and breadth of the land, the same spirit of enquiry, and the same mental activity, which is now beginning to characterize the inhabitants of the few districts in which a commencement has been made.

"The sanction which the Lieutenant-Governor, in these words, solicited for an increase of the means which experience has shown to be capable of producing such rich and early fruit, I now most gladly and gratefully propose. And while I cannot refrain from recording anew in this place my deep regret that the ear which would have heard this welcome sanction given, with so much joy, is now dull in death, I desire at the same time to add the expression of my feeling, that even though Mr. Thomason had left no other memorial of his public life behind him, this system of general Vernacular Education, which is all his own, would have sufficed to build up for him a noble and abiding monument of his earthly career.

"I beg leave to recommend, in the strongest terms, to the Honourable Court of Directors, that full sanction should be given to the extension of the scheme of Vernacular education to all the districts within the jurisdiction of the North-Western Provinces, with every adjunct which may be necessary for its complete efficiency.

"Allusion is made by the Secretary to the Council of Education, in his report on the Vernacular Schools in the North-Western Provinces, to the utter failure of the scheme of Vernacular Education adopted in Bengal, among a more intelligent, docile and less prejudiced people than those of the North-Western Provinces. But he adds the encouraging assurance that he is 'convinced that the scheme above referred to is not only the best adapted to lessen the ignorance of the agricultural population of the North-Western Provinces, but is also the plan best suited for the mass of the people of Bengal and Behar.'

"Since this is so, I hold it the plain duty of the Government of India at once to place within the reach of the people of Bengal and Behar those means of education which, notwithstanding our anxiety to do so, we have hitherto failed in presenting to them in an acceptable form, but which we are told upon the experienced authority of Dr Monro are to be found in the successful scheme of the Lieutenant-Governor before us.

"And not to Bengal and Behar only. If it be good for these, it is good also for our new subjects beyond the Jumna. That it will be not only good for them, but most acceptable to them, no one can doubt who has read the reports by Mr. Montgomery and other Commissioners upon indigenous education in the Punjab, which showed results that were little anticipated before they were discovered.

"Wherefore it is, more than ever before, its duty in every such case as this to act vigorously, cordially, and promptly."

The year 1854 was memorable for the Home Despatch which gave a considerable impetus to Vernacular Education; in the language of Lord Stanley's Despatch of 1859, "it declared the wish of the Court of Directors for the prosecution of the object in a more systematic manner, and placed the subject on a level in point of importance with that of the instruction to be afforded through the medium of the English language. It must be admitted that, previously to 1854, the subject of Vernacular Education had not received, in every part of India, the full amount of attention which it merited :—

"The Indian Educational Code is contained in the Despatches of the Home Government of 1854 and 1859. The main object of the former Despatch is to divert the efforts of the Government from the education of the higher classes upon whom they had up to that date been too exclusively directed, and to turn them to the wider diffusion of education among all classes of the people, and especially to the provision of primary instruction for the masses. Such instruction is to be provided by the direct instrumentality of Government, and a compulsory rate, levied under the direct authority of Government, is pointed out as the best means of obtaining funds for the purpose.

"The medium of education is to be the Vernacular languages of India, into which the best elementary treatises in English should be translated. Such translations are to be advertised for, and liberally rewarded by Government as the means of enriching Vernacular literature.

"The existing Institutions for the study of the classical languages of India are to be maintained, and respect is to be paid to the hereditary veneration which they command."

"At a time when there were not 12,000 pupils altogether in the Government Colleges and superior Schools for general education in all India, the framers of the Code were of opinion that the efforts of Government had been too exclusively directed heretofore to the higher classes, and that all that then remained for Government to do for these classes was to establish Universities to complete the educational machinery in each Presidency. After the establishment of Universities, it was stated that—'We shall have done as much as a Government can do to place the benefits of education plainly and practically before the higher classes of India.' \* \* \*

"Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, if possible, still more important, and one which has been hitherto, we are bound to admit, too much neglected, namely, how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts; and we desire to see the active measures of Government more especially directed, for the future, to this object, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure.

"Schools—whose object should be, not to train highly a few youths, but to provide more opportunities than now exist for the

acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of society in every condition of life—should exist in every district in India.”

This point was again strongly enforced by the Home Government in 1863 in a Despatch from Sir C. Wood :—

“ I have noticed with some surprise the remarks of the present Chief Commissioner of Oude and of the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal with regard to the principle on which Government should proceed in its measures for the promotion of education in India. It would appear to be the opinion of these gentlemen that Government should, for the present, limit its measures to providing the means of education for the higher classes, and that the education of the lower classes should be left to be effected hereafter, when the classes above them shall have not only learnt to appreciate the advantages of education for themselves, but have become desirous of extending its benefits to those below them. Without entering into a discussion on the question here involved, it is sufficient to remark that the sentiments of the Home Authorities with regard to it have already been declared with sufficient distinctness, and that they are entirely opposed to the views put forward by Mr. Wingfield and Mr. Atkinson.”

Again, in 1864, Sir Charles Wood wrote—

“ Those principles are that, as far as possible, the resources of the State should be so applied as to assist those who cannot be expected to help themselves, and that the richer classes of the people should gradually be induced to provide for their own education.”

These extracts seem to show that, until the State has placed the means of elementary Vernacular Education within the reach of those who are unable to procure it for themselves, an annually increasing Government expenditure in any Province upon “ the higher classes who are able, and willing in many cases, to bear a considerable part at least of the cost of their own education,” is not in accordance with the main object of the Educational Code, nor with the subsequent views of the Home Governments.

Howell, in his Note on Education, 1867, published by the Government of India, puts the following questions :—

“ It may perhaps therefore, be asked, in the words of the Despatch of 1854, how far does the Bengal system tend ‘ to confer those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge ?’ There is ‘ satisfactory evidence of the high attainments in English literature and European science in the few,’ but how does the system ‘ provide for the extension to the general population of those means of obtaining an education suitable to their station in life which had theretofore been too exclusively confined to the higher classes ?’

“ Do Native gentlemen, like English gentlemen, return to their Zemindages from a University career, to spread around them the reflex of the enlightenment they have received themselves ? Does the process of highly educating a few, and leaving the masses, tend to increase, or to diminish, the gulf between class and class ? Are there any indications of a decrease in crime, or of a dawn of intelligence in the agricultural classes of those districts where the mass Schools ‘ have not been taken up by Government or by any Society,’ and where education only ‘ filters ?’

As early as 1857 Mr. Woodrow's labors in introducing the Circle system into general operation had been recognized in a despatch, No. 85 of 1857, dated the 18th February, from the Honorable Court of Directors :—

"The plan of Mr. Woodrow for the improvement of the indigenous Vernacular Schools in his division is based on the retention of the existing schools, which are, however, to be formed into circles, to each of which a teacher of a higher class is to be appointed, who shall afford instruction to the upper boys in each school, superior to that which the Guru Mohashay, or village master, is competent to impart. The Guru Mohashays are to be conciliated by pecuniary rewards of small amount, proportioned to the number of boys of certain specified standards of attainment who may be found in their respective schools, and the tendency of the boys to leave school at an early age is to be overcome by small gratuities to those boys remaining at school who may possess a certain specified amount of knowledge in various branches of study.

"We approve Mr. Woodrow's desire to make the utmost possible use of existing means of education, and to avoid as much as possible the supersession of the former teachers of indigenous schools, which seem, notwithstanding the small amount of instruction which they afford, to have naturally a considerable hold on the minds of the people. It is hoped by Mr. Woodrow, and seems not improbable from the result of the limited experiment which has already been made, that the plan may have the effect of stimulating the conductors of indigenous schools—the Guru Mohashays—to self-improvement; and, on the whole, we agree with you in thinking the scheme well deserving of a trial on an enlarged scale, and accordingly approve the sanction given to the recommendation of the Bengal Government."

The details of the scheme are set forth in the Bengal Government Education Report for October 1855, and are published at pages 33 to 36, Appendix A. of the Report of 1855-56.

It is stated in Mr. Woodrow's last Report for 1867-68, there were in the 24-Pergunnahs, in 40 Government Circles, 124 schools containing 4,844 pupils, at a total cost of Rupees 8,645, or 1 Rupee 12 annas yearly a head for each boy.

This system is extending wider and wider in Bengal; in 1863 it was adopted in Bengal by the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India at the suggestion of Sir J. Logan, and there are about 4,000 pupils in connection with it.

A despatch was forwarded by Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for India in 1859, in which it is observed—

"If it must be admitted that previously to 1854 the subject of Vernacular Education had not received in every part of India the full amount of attention which it merited, there can be no doubt that since the wishes of the Home Authorities have been so plainly declared, the Officers of the Department of Education, acting under the orders of the several Governments, have spared no pains to bring into operation, throughout the districts entrusted to their superintendence, such measures as appeared most likely to place within reach of the general population the means of obtaining an education suited to their circumstances in life."

It notices that Mr. Woodrow's plan of Circle Schools on the basis of the existing indigenous schools, was found very successful, while the grant-in-aid system was not found to answer with them—

"Mr Pratt was in consequence forced to the conclusion that the grant-in-aid system, as carried out under the existing rules, could not be made the basis of any extended system of popular education, these rules being regarded by him as 'out of place in a country where the value of education is utterly unfelt by the mass of the people, based as they are on the supposition that the people of this country are so desirous of an improved description of instruction, that they will actually pay not only schooling-fees, but contributions from their private resources.' The following remarks of Mr. Woodrow are sufficient to show the concurrence of that gentleman in Mr Pratt's conclusion. 'The poorest classes do not want schools at all, because they are too poor to pay schooling-fees and subscriptions, and because the labor of the children is required to enable them to live. The middle and upper classes will make no sort of sacrifice for the establishment of any but English schools. Yet the rules in force presume the highest appreciation of education, because based on the supposition that the people everywhere pay not only schooling-fees, but subscriptions for schools. In fact, we expect the peasantry and shop-keepers of Bengal to make sacrifices for education which the same classes in England often refuse to make.'"

It approves of an Educational cess on land—

"The appropriation of a fixed proportion of the annual value of the land to the purpose of providing such means of education for the population immediately connected with the land, seems, *per se*, unobjectionable, and the application of a percentage for the construction and maintenance of roads appears to afford a suitable precedent for such an impost. In the North-Western Provinces, the principle has already been acted on, though the plan has there been subjected to the important modification that the Government shares the burden with the landholder, and that the consent of the latter shall be a necessary condition to the introduction of the arrangement in any locality. The several existing Inspectors of Schools in Bengal are of opinion that an education rate might without difficulty be introduced into that Presidency, and it seems not improbable that the levy of such a rate under the direct authority of the Government would be acquiesced in with far more readiness and with less dislike than a nominally voluntary rate proposed by the local officers."

Lord Stanley's despatch of 1859 led to enquiries into Vernacular Education on the part of the Bengal Government, and the eliciting opinions on the point from a variety of individuals. We shall quote a few.

W. Seton-Karr, Esquire, Judge of Jessore, remarks:—

"I think that we cannot be far wrong if we enable a ryot to write a letter of business or congratulation to his patron or friend, to draw out a bond, to understand the terms of a mortgage, to cast up his accounts, to know if his receipts for rent are correctly signed, and to understand the scope of Act X. of 1859."

Dr. Mouat, so long the able Secretary of the Council of Education, states:—

"The existing village schools may be to the last degree inefficient, and the Gooroomohashoys may be, as many of them are, as ignorant as owls. But they are old-established, time-honored Institutions, deeply grafted in

the affections of the people, intimately connected with their habits and associations, and so closely interwoven with their prejudices and predilections, that any attempt to displace them with more highly organized schools and better trained school-masters, will result, as all such attempts have heretofore resulted, in hopeless failure.

"Since Mr. Adam wrote, the general prosperity of Bengal has advanced so considerably, that the cost of food and value of labor have at least doubled. The pecuniary reward that might then have stimulated the teacher, would, therefore, now be insufficient."

**Babu Peari Chand Mittra writes :—**

"I would suggest that, if arrangements can be made for instructing the pupils of village schools in practical agriculture and horticulture, it will not only conduce to the improvement of the material condition of the people, but serve substantially the cause of popular education which the Government is so anxious to promote. What the village school pupils should learn must be practically and not from books. This instruction I submit should be on manures, nature of soils required for different plants, different kinds of grafting, modes of germination, successful growth, preservation, &c.

"It may be naturally asked by whom is this instruction to be given, and how can this object be most economically carried out? To this I would reply that there is a body of intelligent *hallee*s and mistrymen in and out of Calcutta whose services can be secured for Rupees 12 to 16 a month, and one or two of them may be employed experimentally as teachers till the utility of extending this mode of tuition is established beyond doubt."

**Raja Radhakant Deb states :—**

"As soon as the people will begin to reap the fruits of a solid vernacular education, agricultural and industrial schools may be established in order to qualify the enlightened masses to become useful members of society. Nothing should be guarded against more carefully than the insensible introduction of a system whereby, with a smattering knowledge of English, youths are weaned from the plough, the axe, and the loom, to render them ambitious only for the clerkship for which hosts would besiege the Government and Mercantile Offices, and the majority being disappointed (as they must be), would (with their little knowledge inspiring pride) be unable to return to their trade, and would necessarily turn vagabonds."

**The Reverend K. Banerjee expresses his opinion :—**

"A ryot that can read and write may be able to sign his own name in his *khopoolut* after reading it himself, may examine the *pottah* or the *dakhla* granted to him and the entries made in the Zemindar's books when he takes *izarah* or pays rent, may when wronged write out an application to the proper authority without the intervention of a Court shumper in the form of a professional scribe, may read for himself depositions taken in his name and affix his own signature, and in various other ways check the delinquencies of oppressors, forgers, and perjurers."

**Major Lees, Acting Director of Public Instruction, states :—**

"The high price of elementary school books at present is another obstacle. A Committee of gentlemen,\* Mr. Woodrow, \*  
Mr. Woodrow, \*  
The Reverend J. Long.  
Baboo Rajendralal Mittra.  
lately appointed to enquire into this subject, report that a poor boy in the interior must pay a premium of 10C per cent. over the actual cost price for

every spelling book or Primer he may have occasion to purchase, and, as Native school-boys generally destroy six or a dozen before they master its contents, the matter, to their poor parents, is one of great moment. Yet the School Book Society receives a grant of Rupees 500 a month from Government for the express purpose of selling good cheap school books.

"Some caution and foresight are necessary, lest in our well intentioned zeal and anxious endeavours to render this great Empire wealthy, and its people prosperous and happy, we do not deluge the country with a large class of discontented men, dissatisfied with their position in society and in life, and disgusted with the world, themselves, and the Government that took them from what they were, to make them what they are. This would be to fill our bazars with socialism, and red-republicanism instead of contentment and prosperity, and for the Government to incur a responsibly it is alarming even to think of."

In 1860, Sir J. Peter Grant, when Governor of Bengal, submitted the following plan:—

"One of the matters particularly urged on the attention of the Government of India in Lord Stanley's Despatch of April 1859 was the extension of Vernacular Education among the masses of the population, and Local Governments were desired to take it into careful consideration and report fully on the means, respectively, at their disposal for promoting the object in view, having regard to the peculiar circumstances of each Province or Presidency.

"It was in the first place observed that the agricultural peasantry of Bengal was the class to be acted upon, and *secondly*, that the instruction to be imparted to it should range no higher, at least for some time to come, than that which was afforded by the indigenous Private Schools already in existence in large numbers over the whole country. The object, therefore, should be to bring them under such influences as would improve and elevate their character and efficiency, and ultimately confirm and extend their usefulness.

"When the requisite number of Schools shall have been selected, the Inspector must endeavour to make the guru, or the proprietors and supporters of the Schools, who are often talookdars and middlemen, to submit to periodical inspection.

"Books should be supplied to the Schools at a very low price. These books should contain, in a compact form, all that has hitherto been taught at such places by dictation, namely Arithmetic, Agricultural and Commercial Accounts, Forms of Agreements, Quittances of Rents, Bonds, and even models of the complimentary or formal letters which inferiors constantly address to their superiors. The Lieutenant Governor does not feel warranted in despising this last kind of instruction, because it is not conveyed to the son of an English peasant. It is sufficient for our purposes that such instruction has been imparted in India for generations. The above course will enable any lad of ordinary intelligence to read and write correctly, and to see that he is not cheated in his accounts by the mahajun or the agent of the zemindar.

"He would be offered a reward in hard cash, within a limited amount at the discretion of the Inspector, and on the latter being satisfied that the state of the School justified the encouragement, which should not exceed half the schooling fees received by the guru from his pupils; and assuming the fees at Rupees five per annum, the guru would be paid on an average Rupees 30 per annum by Government.

"If the time should ever arrive when we could show off thousand Village Schools to a district, aided by Government, and affording the agriculturists a simple and practical education commensurate with their wants, the State, in such a case, might be held to have fairly done its duty by a neglected portion of its subjects."



Mr. Woodrow suggested a mode of paying by results, thus:—

"Nothing for boys who cannot read, spell, and write at dictation words of three letters and say the multiplication table up to 10 times 10

"One pice monthly for every boy who can read and explain the meaning of words and sentences in 'Infant Teacher' Part 3rd, and can do easy sums in addition, subtraction, multiplication.

"One anna monthly for every boy up to 'Infant Teacher' Part 4th, and the four simple rules of Arithmetic.

"Two annas monthly for every boy who can read and write without gross blunders, copy a map, and has learned some accounts

"Four annas monthly for every boy who completes the highest course prescribed for indigenuous schools"

The last phase of the Vernacular Education question appeared in the Supplement to the Bengal Government *Gazette* for May 20th, 1868. In a correspondence between the Governments of Bengal, and India relating to Elementary Vernacular Education for the lower classes, the main question being as to the mode of levying a local Educational Cess, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal expressed an opinion in favor of an increase to the salt tax. The Director of Public Instruction estimated the cost:—

"Assuming the population of Bengal at 40,000,000, I calculate that with the machinery of this plan we shall be able to provide Elementary Schools for the whole country at the rate of one School to each 3,000 of the population at an annual charge of the State not much exceeding 20 lakhs of Rupees, or £200,000, including expenditure for inspection and administration, and I should hardly suppose that the Finance Department will consider this an excessive outlay for such a purpose, especially when it is informed that for England and Wales, with a population of 20,063,793, the expenditure from the Parliamentary grant during the year ending 31st March 1866, amounted to no less a sum than £378,003 for day-scholars in Elementary Schools alone, exclusive of all charges for administration and inspection"

Mr. Bayley, the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, argues in favor of this expense being met by the land:—

"Consequently, as was originally the case in Bengal, so in the North-Western Provinces, the proportion of the rent taken as revenue by Government has been fixed on calculations into which the element of a provision for the general education of the people did not enter."

"There is no part of India in which the Imperial revenue can with less fairness be called upon to contribute to local objects."

"Whatever may have been in reality the share of the income of the proprietors of the soil which the permanent settlement originally gave to Government, there can be no doubt that it is now far less than in other Provinces, for, while the area under cultivation has enormously increased (perhaps, on an average, doubled,) on the other hand, the prices of produce have undoubtedly risen in even a still greater ratio, so that the gross assets of the proprietors have probably increased four or five fold, if not more, and the amount of the Imperial demand remaining stationary, its incidence has proportionably diminished."

"The main burden, therefore, of Vernacular Education in Bengal should, the Governor General in Council thinks, fall, not on the Imperial revenues, but, as elsewhere, on the proprietors of the land

"In the permanently-settled Districts of the Benares Division of the North-Western Provinces (between which and the permanently settled Districts of the Lower Provinces the most complete analogy exists), the proprietors of the soil have voluntarily agreed to the imposition of an educational cess, on condition that Government should give an equal amount."

"The Governor General in Council would be glad if the Zemindars of Bengal could be similarly brought to tax themselves for Vernacular Education. In such case, without pledging the Government to any specific condition, His Excellency would willingly give such aid as the finances of the Empire could, from time to time, fairly afford.

"But if any such voluntary arrangement is impossible, His Excellency in Council is of opinion that legislation may justly be employed for the imposition of a general local cess of such amount as may be necessary."

The last letter of Mr. Bayley, Secretary to the Government of India, on the subject, April 28th 1868, was urgent; he observes:—

"I am directed to request the attention of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor to the urgent necessity which, in the opinion of the Governor General in Council, now exists for providing from local sources the means of extending elementary education in Bengal, and for the construction and maintenance of roads and other works of public utility.

"While there is no Province in India which can bear comparison with Bengal in respect of the progress made in the *higher branches of education* by a considerable section of the upper classes of the community, the Governor General in Council has long observed with regret *the almost total absence of proper means of provision for the elementary education of the agricultural classes which form the great mass of the population.*

"The contrast in this respect between Bengal and other Provinces is striking. In Bengal, with a population that probably exceeds forty millions, the total number of pupils in the lower class Government and Aided Schools was, in 1866-67, only 39,104. In the North Western Provinces, with a population under thirty millions, the number of pupils in Schools of a similar class was 125,394. In Bombay, with a population of sixteen millions, the number was 79,189. In the Punjab, with a population of fifteen millions, it was 82,355. In the Central Provinces, with a population of eight-and-a-half millions, it was 22,600. Nor does there seem to be any probability that these proportions will hereafter become more favorable to Bengal, although the measures that have lately been taken for the encouragement of vernacular education by means of the system of training Masters in the so-called indigenous Schools have been more or less successful. The means of affording elementary instruction appear to be increasing with far greater rapidity in other Provinces. It is shown by Mr. Howell's Note on the State of Education in India in 1866-67, that in Bombay the annual increase in the number of Schools and of scholars is most remarkable. In the North-Western Provinces, in the Punjab, and in the Central Provinces, constant progress is being made. In Oude, where educational operations only commenced a few years ago, the Director of Public Instruction expects before very long to see 'a School, under a well-trained and fairly paid Teacher, within two-and-a-half miles of every child in the Province.'

"The Governor General in Council feels that it would not be right to evade any longer the responsibility which properly falls upon the Government of providing that the means of obtaining at least an elementary education shall be made accessible to the people of Bengal. He feels that this responsibility must be accepted in this, as in other Provinces, not only as one of the highest duties which we owe to the country, but because among all the sources of difficulty in our administration, and of possible danger to the stability of our Government, there are few so serious as the ignorance of the people.

"In Bengal, at least, the Government cannot be charged with having done too little for the encouragement of the higher branches of education. The expenditure, in 1866-67, on Government and Aided Schools, mostly of a superior class, was nearly £250,000, of which more than £150,000 was contributed by the State. The Government is entitled to say, quoting the words of the Home Government in the well-known Despatch of 1854, that it has done 'as much as a Government can do to place the benefits of education plainly and practically before the higher classes of Bengal. It may, indeed, be

'question whether the Government has not done too much; for, as the Secretary of State wrote in 1864, the true principle by which the expenditure of the Government upon education ought to be governed is this—'That, as far as possible, the resources of the State should be so applied as to assist those who cannot be expected to help themselves, and that the richer classes of the people should gradually be induced to provide for their own education.'

"However this may be, whether we have done, in this respect, more than was necessary or not, the duty that remains to be performed is clear. It was described as follows in the Despatch of 1854, which has been quoted above — 'Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, if possible, still more important, and one which has been hitherto, we are bound to admit, too much neglected, namely, how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts.'

"While the Governor General in Council is not content to bear any longer the reproach that almost nothing has been done for the education of the people of Bengal, it is altogether out of the question that the Government can provide the funds without which the removal of that reproach is impossible. At the present time, the total number of pupils in Government and in Aided Schools is probably 630,000, and the estimate of the expenditure upon Education, Science, and Art amounts, for the current year, to £904,000.

"It is evident that if the Imperial expenditure on education be allowed to go on increasing much longer at the present rate, the result must be a serious aggravation of the financial difficulties of the Government.

"While the Governor General in Council will always be ready to view, in the most liberal spirit, all questions that may arise, and to afford every help that the Government can reasonably be expected to give, he will decline, in future, to listen to any proposition, the effect of which would be to throw upon the State the main burden of the cost of educating the people of Bengal. The only way in which that cost can be met is, unless some voluntary arrangement be possible, by means of local taxation, especially imposed for the purpose.

"The Home Government, in the Despatch of 1859, pointed to 'the levy of a compulsory rate as the only really effective step to be taken.' 'The appropriation,' it was stated, 'of a fixed proportion of the annual value of the land to the purpose of providing such means of education for the population immediately connected with the land seems, *per se*, unobjectionable; and the application of a percentage for the construction and maintenance of roads appears to offer a suitable precedent for such an impost.'

"The Despatch then referred, in terms which are not altogether applicable at the present time, to the manner in which this principle had been already acted on in the North-Western Provinces, and went on to say, with special reference to Bengal, that 'it seems not improbable that the levy of such a rate under the direct authority of the Government would be acquiesced in with far more readiness and with less dislike than a nominally voluntary rate proposed by the local Officers.'

"This principle has been already carried out in Bombay, in the North-Western Provinces, in Oude, in the Central Provinces, and in the Punjab. Although the educational cess in those Provinces is imposed as a percentage on the Government demand, it is, as was stated in my letter of the 28th October last, 'clearly taken from the proprietors of the soil as a separate tax for special local purposes.' Not only can there be no reason why a similar tax should not be imposed for similar purposes in Bengal, but in the opinion of the Governor General in Council there is no part of India in which the proprietors of the land can be so justly expected to bear local burdens of this nature.'

"The Governor General in Council is aware that it has been sometimes asserted that the imposition of such a tax would be an infringement of the conditions under which the permanent settlement of the land was made. He does not think, and he believes that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor

will concur in this opinion, that there is any necessity for argument to shew the futility of such assertions. Similar objections were made to the imposition of the Income Tax, and they are as groundless in the one case as in the other.

"In the North-Western Provinces, in the Punjab, and in Oude, the proprietors of land pay on this account a tax amounting to one per cent on the Government demand. They pay the same in the permanently-settled districts of the Benares Division. In the Central Provinces they pay two per cent. In Madras the rate may be as much as 3½ per cent. In Bombay, assuming that one-half of the cess lately imposed is devoted to roads, the proprietors of land pay at the rate of 3½ per cent. In Bengal they pay nothing, although there is no part of India in which the means of the landholders are so large, in which the construction of roads and other works of local improvement is more urgently required, or in which such works have hitherto made so little progress.

"It was pointed out in my letter of the 28th October last, that in the permanently-settled districts of the Benares Division of the North-Western Provinces, between which and the permanently-settled districts of the Lower Provinces the most complete analogy exists, the proprietors of the soil had voluntarily agreed to the imposition of an educational cess on condition that the Government should give an equal amount, it was added that the Governor General in Council would be glad if the Zemindars of Bengal could be similarly brought to tax themselves for Vernacular education, and that in such case, without pledging the Government to any specific condition, His Excellency would willingly give such aid as the finances of the empire could, from time to time, fairly afford. Those remarks are equally applicable to the question of local taxation for the construction and maintenance of roads.

"If, however, in either or both of these cases, it should be found impracticable to provide, by any such voluntary arrangement, the means of meeting the necessary expenditure, the Governor General in Council is decidedly of opinion that recourse should be had to legislation, and that a special tax should be imposed for these purposes upon the landholders of Bengal."

The following letter on the best mode of extending Vernacular Education has been sent to the Government of Bengal for their consideration by the Governor General:—

"From ROYD J. LONG, to His Excellency Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, K. C. B., and K. C. S. I., Governor General of India,—Dated Simla, the 21th August 1867

"SIR,—MR. GORDON, the Private Secretary, has informed me that your Excellency is pleased with the general principles relating to Vernacular Education laid down in my letter of the 14th instant, and wishes to have my views as to a practical scheme for imparting Vernacular Education in Bengal.

"2 I beg to submit the following sketch of the measures I would recommend as urgent in the existing crisis in Bengal. Additional measures can be adopted after these are in successful operation.

"3 It would be well, I believe, to take as a basis the existing system of Vernacular education in Bengal, which has worked well on the whole, and has been tested by experience, now it mainly needs development and expansion with more decided efforts to work downwards from the upper middle class to the masses.

"The following are the chief features of the existing system to be adopted in the existing system in Bengal and Behar:—

"(a) A *Director General* in correspondence on one side with the Government of Bengal, and on the other with European Inspectors and Native Sub-Inspectors.

"(b) Twenty *Normal Schools* established in various parts of the country, in which natives receive an education qualifying them to convey superior Vernacular instruction, but almost exclusively in schools of the middle class. The supply of the same is only limited by the want of money to augment the number of teachers under training and the opening of additional Vernacular Schools.

"(c.) *Model Schools* supported by Government. These give an example to natives, and to the teachers of indigenous Schools of an improved system of education.

"(d.) *Grant-in-aid Schools*, which are spreading through the country, the Government defraying half the expense. These Schools are not generally attended much by the agricultural classes.

"(e.) *Guru Schools*. These are the old indigenous Schools of the country, fragments remaining of the ancient village municipal system, the village having the guru or hedge School-master, the same as it has its barber or smith. There are more than 80,000 of these small Schools in Bengal and Behar; the teachers are very ignorant, and can only give instruction in the merest elements of reading, writing and arithmetic: they present, however, the cheapest and simplest basis for acting on the village population. Successful efforts are now being made both by Government and the Christian Vernacular Education Society to improve this humble class of Schools, by forming them into what are called *Circle Schools*. A circle is generally composed of three Schools situated a few miles distant from each other; the master or guru of each School receives a monthly bonus from Government or private persons, varying according to the number and proficiency of his pupils; he also receives fees from them in money or food; his defective instruction is supplemented by a superior teacher, who devotes two days a week to each School in rotation. I myself have for years worked Schools on this plan; they are now attended by 900 boys, and I believe this scheme is the most practical one at the present time for reaching the masses; it supplements without superseding indigenous effort.

"(f.) *Vernacular Scholarships* of the value of Rupees 4 monthly are given after a competitive examination to the best pupils of Vernacular Schools in order to give encouragement to the Schools and enable the successful candidates to pursue a higher course of study at superior Schools. There are 450 Vernacular scholarships, costing Government Rupees 28,000 annually. A class of scholarships, of the value of Rupees 2 per mensem, is requisite to encourage the boys of the Village Schools; the scholarships of Rupees 4 monthly being chiefly competed for by those who intend to prosecute their studies at English Schools.

"4. With the exception of the Guru Schools, the existing system does not tap the masses; it is adopted chiefly by boys of the middle classes, it exhibits but a slow tendency to work downwards and expand itself towards the millions, it embraces but a fraction of the population, leaving the agricultural and working classes in the main as ignorant as

The system good for a certain class should even, but it has done much good as a now be extended preparation for an onward movement, and the time seems now to have arrived when it should be extended to the masses, the 35,000,000 of Bengal, of whom two per cent cannot read intelligently. I do trust that while in France, Prussia, and even in Russia sedulous efforts are being made for peasant education, Bengal will not in this respect be backward, and especially as the removal of popular ignorance is one of the chief means of destroying that system of popular superstition, which is so mighty an obstacle to all measures for the religious and social amelioration of the millions of Bengal.

"5 The expansions and changes I would propose in the existing system are the following —

"(a) *The Grant-in-aid Rules to be modified, so as to require from Guru Schools only one-third the local contribution instead of one-half as at present.* The peasantry do not value knowledge sufficiently to pay half the expenses of a School; repeatedly have they said to me—we are not merchants or pundits, what is the use of learning History and Geography. It in Prussia education has long been compulsory, if in Sweden a man cannot be married who can neither read nor write, and if in Christian England the question of compulsory education is looming in the distance, why should we in this land of caste, where even the educated native too often says *Odus profanum vulgus et arceus*, expect that the common people will pay for a knowledge of what they do not at present see the pecuniary value.

"(b) A *Director of Vernacular Education* to be appointed, who, being responsible only to the Government of Bengal, should have the sole and uncontrolled management of Vernacular education, and should alone correspond direct with the Bengal Government on all Vernacular questions. I proposed this twelve years ago to the Bengal Government, and subsequent experience and observation have only confirmed my views.

"My reasons then, as now, had no reference to the individual filling the office, but simply in relation to the obvious principle of the division of labor, which requires that one Director should have charge of the higher education, the other that of the masses; the operations of both are so different that no man, however able or industrious, can do justice to both, involving, as each of them does, a variety of new and complicated questions, very different in their bearings in a country like Bengal, where educational cannot be separated from social problems.

"Great stress is to be laid on the Vernacular Director, whose undivided attention could be given to Vernacular questions which embrace the following Sub-Divisions:—

"(a) *The education of ryots and the working classes*, a sphere greater in respect of population than that of France and Scotland united.

"(b.) *Female education* now rapidly developing itself in Bengal, though the Punjab has gone ahead of Bengal in this branch.

"(c.) *Mahomedan Education*, hitherto so utterly neglected, in my previous letter I have referred to the important social and political consequences connected with it.

"(d) *The Oriental Colleges*. The Sanskrit College of Calcutta has been exceedingly useful in promoting the development of Vernacular Literature, and supplying a well trained class of Pundits for teaching the Vernacular and making translations. As *Philological Institutions*, Oriental Colleges are of primary importance in the present condition of the Indian Vernaculars. The Calcutta and Hooghly Madrasahs have long required Principals at their head, acquainted with Arabic and Persian, who could devote their entire time to the duties of those Colleges, and exercise an useful influence among the Mahomedans.

"(e) *Agricultural Instruction*. This is of primary importance for rural Schools, as education in Ireland and Prussia has shewn. In Bengal, the practical measures to be adopted are the teaching it in Normal Schools, with elementary class books in Village Schools. I myself published a book on this subject, which proved very useful for the pupils of my Village Schools. A Chair of Agricultural Chemistry in the Calcutta University would be important for Bengal, as would a Minister of Agriculture in connection with the Supreme Government.

"(f.) *Vernacular Literature*, in correspondence with the Calcutta School Book Society in relation to Vernacular School books.

"(g) *Vernacular School and District Libraries*. The circulation of useful Vernacular books, by Book hawkers, and the compilation of an Annual Report on Vernacular Literature in relation to its statistics, the quality, number, and circulation of books.

"6. The above mentioned seven subjects are closely connected with one another, and all bear on the interests of Vernacular education. The Vernacular Director having to work them out by a staff of subordinate Agents, would have ample occupation for his department without distracting his attention by problems relating to the higher education of the upper ten thousand.

"7. There is another subject that belongs also to the Vernacular Department referred to in the Educational Despatch of the Secretary of State for India in 1854, which directed—'That even in lower Government situations a man, who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot, if he is equally eligible in other respects.'

"This injunction has remained practically a dead letter in Bengal, but it deserves the serious attention of the authorities as one of the cheapest and most efficient means of giving a pecuniary motive to the people for learning to read and write. Certainly it might at once be carried out in the Police.

"To make this test effective, there should be periodical examinations held in various Districts, conducted by the Vernacular Department, and presided over by the Commissioner of the Zillah, to attach weight to it. Certificates should be bestowed on those who pass the examination, and after a given period no man should be eligible for any office under Government unprovided with this certificate. I believe these examinations conducted publicly would give a considerable impetus to adult education.

"8. On the other hand, the Bengal Director of Public Instruction has ample scope for his energies in the Administration and Correspondence Department relating to English education, comprising—

"(a.) The *Calcutta University* increasing every year in importance.

"(b.) The *Zillah Colleges* of Bengal.

"(c.) The *Zillah Schools*.

"(d.) The *Anglo-Vernacular Schools*.

"(e.) The *Grant-in-aid system* as applied to numerous Anglo-Vernacular Schools, Missionary and Native.

"(f.) He has practically to decide the questions that are referred to him from the Inspectors and the various Departments.

"(g.) He corresponds directly with Government.

"(h.) He selects suitable persons for the Colleges and Head Schools, which requires considerable care and investigation on his part.

"9. The numerous details that arise out of the above subjects must give a Director, however earnest and diligent, little leisure to give due consideration to the numerous, difficult, and important questions connected with Vernacular education.

"For, carrying out the proposed extension of Vernacular education, a grant of two lacs of rupees is required from Imperial Funds as the first instalment. I have stated in my previous letter why the Bengal peasant has special claims on the Imperial Government—it was that Government which, in ignorance and with good intentions, handed him over in 1793 to the zemindary system, which has reduced him to a serf, a *proletaire*, and has made him the victim of a class of men who, with a few exceptions, are practically opposed to his social elevation, as well as to his education. After a quarter of a century's residence in Bengal, I have known but rare cases where either Zemindars or educated Natives would do anything to raise the Bengal ryot to the status of a 'man and a brother,' the Supreme Government, therefore, as the *guru purwar* (the protector of the poor and helpless) ought not to forego its functions in this case. The peasant has been starved in body, is he to remain starved in soul also?"

"10. To meet the farther expenses that must be incurred in developing this scheme, besides grants from the Imperial Revenue, there may be available from local sources the following—

"(a) *An Educational Cess*. This has succeeded only in Bombay and the North-West Provinces, but Bengal is under the blight of the Zemindar settlement. Zemindars, in common with the majority of educated Natives, are too indifferent to the people to concur in taxing themselves for the benefit of the million, while the people themselves complain so bitterly of the Chowkedaree Tax, and the extortion it leads to, that they dread extremely any new taxation; besides, they see as little advantage in being taxed for Schools as the criminal classes would to volunteer paying a direct tax for Policemen and Jails.

"(b) *Raising the fees of the pupils that attend Anglo-Vernacular Schools and Colleges, and diminishing the grants*. So as to gradually diminish the grant for English education, this would yield a considerable amount available for the people at large, who have not the rich prizes in situations and offices that are open to the alumni of English Schools. The remarkable success of the Calcutta University illustrates the money-value to Natives of an English education which has the prizes, while Vernacular Education under the existing system has but blanks. When English education was commenced in 1835, in Bengal, one object held

out was, that it was the shortest way for getting at the people—that English education was to prepare for Vernacular. Thirty years have elapsed since these promises were held out. Mr. Adam was appointed by Lord W. Bentinck as Commissioner to enquire into Vernacular Education in Bengal. His reports were shelved, and so was the subject until lately. These reports have been a long time out of print, and contain much valuable information bearing on the present question. In 1861, the Bengal Government accepted my offer to edit a selection from, or digest of, the most useful portions of them; but ill-health soon after forced me to England. On my return I saw there was not sufficient interest taken by the authorities in the subject of Vernacular Education to induce me to enter on the work.

“But now that the question of the extension of Vernacular Education has been re-opened, I believe a selection from those reports would be of use; and if my services in editing them were required, I would gladly undertake it for the Government of India. The subjects discussed, and information given, might be suggestive of Vernacular Education in other Presidencies, and might be printed in the Selections of the Government of India.”

Adam, in his Report, dwells on the importance not only of Vernacular but also of Oriental Education, which must be the fountain for polishing the Vernacular, making English ideas to be clothed in an oriental garb suitable to the people. He gives interesting details of the studies, writings and influence of the Pundits and classes acquainted with Sanskrit or Arabic; since then, great improvements have been made in the Benares Sanskrit College, while the Sanskrit College in Calcutta has been re-modelled, has produced, and is producing, a class of able teachers of Sanskrit and the Vernacular, as well as supplying clever translators. The interest in Oriental Education is on the increase; and, in 1867, Dr. Smith, of Serampore, submitted a proposition to the Syndicate of the Calcutta University on the subject of Oriental Education. The following are the leading points:—

From G. SMITH, Esquire, to J. STICHELLEE, Esquire, Registrar of the University of Calcutta,—Dated Serampore, the 29th November 1867.

“It seems to me that the time has come for the Indian University system to assimilate to itself, and so to deviate and impregnate with the results of Western thought, the purely Oriental learning and Vernacular Education of India. That system is based exclusively on the constitution and practice of the London University, and ignores almost all that is not English in form and substance.

“It will certainly be admitted, at least, that the time has come to ask the question, whether the course of Education in India in the last third of a century has not been too exclusively English in its character.

“The people themselves feel this want, and in the past few years more than one demand has been made upon Government for its satisfaction. The movement which is known as that of the Lahore or Punjab University is well known to the Senate. Of its earnestness and importance I satisfied myself when at Lahore at the end of last year, and Major Lees will testify to both with an authority I cannot presume to claim. Solely from the impossibility, or unwillingness of our University to assist, elevate or incorporate that movement, it has drifted into what looks very like ultimate failure. The opinions of His Excellency the Chancellor and of Sir Donald Macleod in favor of that movement have been widely published. Both have given it warm personal and official support. Then there has been, more recently, the similar application of the



Institute at Allyghur or Barcilly, representing the learned natives of the North-Western Provinces. The reply of the Government of India to that application recognised the necessity for aiding Oriental learning by honours and rewards. At present all that our University does is to insist that graduates shall add to a sound and extensive knowledge of the English language and literature, and of European history, science and philosophy, *all taught and acquired through the medium of English*, familiarity with one learned language, which may be Latin or Greek as well as Sanskrit or Arabic.

"This seems to me not enough. It fails, and will always fail, to reach the learned class of Pundits and Moulvies whom, for political as well as social reasons, it is so desirable to influence, and it has not the remotest effect on the progress of Vernacular Education. If our University is to be true to its name and functions, and to develop not after a London pattern, but naturally and with a healthy and varied fulness, it must recognize the wants, absorb the intellectual life, and guide the literature and language of all classes. The University is in a new position, and has made a noble beginning. The question is, how will it best represent and elevate the full and varied intellectual life of India?

"(a.) That the University of Calcutta be empowered to affiliate Colleges in which true science, true history and true metaphysics are taught only through the Oriental languages, and in which such languages and their literature are scientifically studied.

"(b.) That the University be permitted to grant degrees for purely Oriental attainment of an honorary character to distinguished Oriental Scholars, and after examination to others. If the University of London could meet the growing interest of Englishmen in physical science by creating the degree of Doctor of Science; why should not that of Calcutta adopt itself to India by conferring such degrees as Doctor of Sanskrit or Master of Arabic?"

The Calcutta University has, however, given a great impulse to Sanskrit studies by the important position they hold in the University Examination, but it does not affect the class of *Tal Pundits* who, according to the Government Inspector of Schools in the Dacca Division, "exercise more supremacy over the minds of the people than any other class."

The following are some of the objects set forth by the proposed Lahore University:—

"While the revival of Eastern learning and the creation of a good vernacular literature will be the primary object of the University, yet English will be still considered as the natural complement of education, and of the highest value to the Native student whose mind has been thoroughly disciplined by a study of his national classics.

"The Government Schools and Colleges, whether high or low, should be regarded, not as permanent institutions, but only as a means for generating a desire and demand for education, and as models meanwhile for imitation by private institutions. In proportion as the demand for education in any given locality is generated, and as private institutions spring up and flourish, all possible aid and encouragement should be afforded to them; and the Government, in place of using its power and resources to compete with private parties, should rather contract and circumscribe its measures of direct education, and so shape its measures as to pave the way for the abolition of its own schools.

"The University of Calcutta is, for various reasons, unsuited to the wants of this province —

"*Firstly*.—Its distance is too great and the area over which its affiliated institutions extend too vast and varied to admit of its exercising the influence which would be exercised by a University located at Lahore.

"*Secondly*.—Were the Calcutta University more accessible than it is, it would still, in the opinion of the European and Native promoters of the present movement, be unsuited to the requirements of the Punjab, inasmuch, as it does, on a considerable knowledge of English as a *sine quâ non* for matriculation and the obtaining of degrees, and affording by its course of study little encouragement to the cultivation of the Oriental classics, and one to the formation of a modern vernacular literature.

"The objects of the Universities of Lahore and Calcutta are different, but not antagonistic, each may carry out successfully its proper speciality, and each may afford the other valuable assistance.

"The University, as an *examining* body, will hold examinations for conferring degrees and '*sansads*' for proficiency in 1, Languages; 2, literature; 3, Science.

"It will also give rewards for good original works in the Vernacular, or good editions of Standard Oriental works, or for translation from European works.

"In the examinations and the tuition of the University 'the comparative method' will be aimed at, in order to form a link between the languages, literature and science of the East and the West.

"Urdu and Hindi will be the principal vehicles for *direct instruction* to the masses of people.

"Arabic with Mahommedans and Sanskrit with Hindoos will hold the place which the classical languages of Greece and Rome hold towards ourselves.

"English will give the opportunity for comparing their own language, literature and science with our own, and its tuition will thus be rendered a really invigorating exercise for already prepared minds, not a mere word teaching.

"It is felt so strongly that it would be fatal to the success of the University were its teaching, which is intended to be on the European system, to degenerate into the old Oriental method, that all Examination Committees will contain in their number some Europeans of learning and influence, who will thus give a guarantee for the liberality and progressive tendencies of the Institution."

Oriental institutions ought to be powerful engines, when properly worked, for influencing the *motley's* mind quite in accordance with the despatch of 1854, which states—

"We do not wish to diminish the opportunities which are now afforded in special institutions for the study of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian literature, or for the cultivation of those languages which may be called the classical languages of India. An acquaintance with the works contained in them is valuable for historical and antiquarian purposes, and a knowledge of the languages themselves is required in the study of Hindoo and Mohammedan Law, and is also of great importance for the critical cultivation and improvement of the Vernacular languages of India."

The Anglo-Persian classes in the Calcutta and Hugly Madrisas have been successful of late years. Mr. Howell, in his Note, mentions a striking case recorded by the Inspector of Behar regarding Mahommedans:—

"*Proportion of Mahommedan Students in Vernacular Schools*.—On the singular preponderance of Mahommedans over Hindoos in the Bhagulpore

attached Model School, where the relative numbers are 60-40, the Head Master of the Training School, Babu Kalicoomar Mitter, observes:—Our discipline and course of study is the same as observed in all Government English Schools and Colleges. We teach history, geography, and mathematics. Only all this instruction is given, not in English, but in the Vernacular. Hence our School is more popular with Mahommedans, and the time-honored though miserable, *Maktabas* and *Meeljees* are being drained of the Mahommedan pupils, who will not go to an English School.

"Such is the important functions which Vernacular Schools are performing, albeit only Lower Class Schools, ill-supported and too little encouraged. They are drawing a large section of an influential class who have persistently kept aloof for the most part from English Schools, where the pupils acquire the 'foreign dress and manners which will shut them out from Paradise,' and where the time allotted to Oriental literature and the language of their Koran, with the small consideration in which Arabic and Persian literature are held, are wholly inadequate and fall far short of the value set on it by themselves. The knowledge acquired in those Vernacular Schools in some subjects up to the Entrance standard is in others not much below it. And all who gain Vernacular scholarships, besides numbers in whose minds the Vernacular Schools has awakened the first desire for knowledge, are so many additions from year to year on the roll of the higher English School, which they might have never entered but for the Lower Vernacular School.

"There is yet another important service which they render, and it is one of great social and political significance. The special attention given to Arabic and Persian in Ooroo Schools and the inclusion in Hindoo Schools of Sanskrit literature and classical Ramyan and Premasagur, venerated by the Hindoos as their sacred *Purans*, help to set at rest deeply-rooted suspicions, and to fill up the breach due to divergence of faith, language and customs. 'These books,' they say, 'would never have been allowed in Government Schools if the Government had any design against our religious faith.' This cultivation of our sacred language does not look as if Government wanted to uproot the language and to supersede it by English."

The attempt to bar up knowledge to the Mahommedans, except they gain it through English, has been a failure; the remarks of Sir D. Macleod, Governor of the Punjab, in his reply to the address of the Native nobility of Lahore on this point, are striking:—

"The great bulk of our scholars never attain more than a very superficial knowledge, either of English or of the subjects they study in that language, while the mental training imparted is, as a general rule, of a purely imitative character, ill-calculated to raise the nation to habits of vigorous or independent thought.

"It appears indeed evident that, to impart knowledge in a foreign tongue must of necessity greatly increase the difficulties of education. In England, where the Latin and Greek languages are considered an essential part of a polite education, all general instruction is conveyed, not in those languages, but in the vernacular of the country; and it seems difficult to assign a sufficient reason why a different principle should be acted upon here.

"And this brings me to the defect which I myself more especially deplore in the system of instruction at present almost exclusively followed, viz., that it has tended, though not intentionally, to alienate from us, in a great measure the really learned men of your race. Little or nothing has been done to educate these, while the literature and science which they most highly value have been virtually ignored. The consequence has been that the men of most cultivated minds amongst our race and yours have remained but too often widely apart, each being unable either to understand or to appreciate the other. And thus we have virtually lost the aid and co-operation of these classes who, I feel assured, afforded by far the best instruments for creating the literature we desire."

The marked success that has of late attended the study of Sanskrit in an improved mode among English educated natives, shows that a corresponding movement may take place regarding the Persian and Arabic with Mahomedans. The Report of the Committee of Public Instruction for 1852, giving the detail of the reforms introduced by Pundit Vidyeesagar into the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, evinces what may be done—his reforms have been most successful.

Agricultural education, so important in its bearings as giving practical direction to the education of the masses, is recognised as a vital branch of national education in Prussia and Ireland; boys who have to return to the plough from the School must have the subjects taught of a nature not to lead them to despise peasant life. In India as long ago as the beginning of this century, a noble minute was written by the Marquess of Wellesley on the subject of Model Farms as forming a branch of Agricultural Instruction, and he proposed appropriating a part of Barrackpore Park to the purposes of a Model Farm. Lord W. Bentinck revived the idea and enforced it in an elaborate minute. Adam in his Report refers to the question. It has been brought before the Bengal Government, by Balm Joykissen Mookerjee, who has made an offer of a considerable sum to Government to carry out the object. The following is some of the correspondence on the subject.

The Bengal Director of Public Instruction writes to the Secretary of the Bengal Government, May 27th, 1865:—

"His Honor will perceive that the measures recommended by the Landholders' and Commercial Association are in the main directed to the same objects as those proposed by Balm Joykissen Mookerjee, who advocates the formation of an Agricultural Department in connection with a new College for General Education to be established at Ootcparah, towards the maintenance of which he has offered a handsome contribution. The advocates of this course of action propose that arrangements should be made in connection with some one or more of our Colleges for General Education to provide systematic lectures on Agriculture and the sciences which bear upon it, for the instruction of the more wealthy classes of Native Society, who are the owners of landed property, and have a direct interest in its profitable management, in the hope that some of them may apply the teaching they receive to the improvement of their crops.

"If, however, a competent Lecturer could be found, it might be worth while to try the experiment of deputation him in rotation to the different Schools and Colleges, to deliver short courses of popular lectures, not as a part of the School business, but for the benefit of the general public, with the view of arousing attention and disseminating the idea that there is at least a possibility of increasing Agricultural profits by improved methods of cultivation, and by the exercise of greater care and discrimination in the breeding of cattle. In this way public interest may perhaps be excited, and the people led to discuss the suggestions made to them, and even prevailed on by degrees to bring them to the test of experiment.

"I am still, however, inclined to adhere to the opinion that, as far as regards the action of the Education Department, the manner in which most good is likely to be effected is by disseminating information in a very humble way, through the agency of the Normal Schools for the training of Village School Masters. The pupils in these Schools are drawn from the country,

villages and are destined to return to them as Teachers, and it seems possible that by giving them simple instruction as to the objects aimed at by Agricultural Improvements and the gains to be anticipated from them, useful knowledge may be widely spread among the actual cultivators of the soil, and gradual influence them in a right direction."

In a letter to the Bengal Government from the Secretary of the Landholders' Association of the 21st October 1864, it stated:—

"The formation of an Agricultural class in some one or more of the Educational Establishments supported by Government under a Professor or Instructor well grounded in the principles of Agriculture and of Agricultural Chemistry.

"The class from which the Committee have the greatest hopes is that of the Talookdars and the sons of Traders and Artisans whose fathers have acquired moderate wealth, and have invested it in the purchase of land. Many of the smaller Talookdars are resident on their properties, and many are understood to have portions of their land in their own possession, or at least under their own control, and if these men had the opportunity of attending an Agricultural class when at School or College, it may be hoped that some of them would apply the teaching they had received to the improvement of their crops.

"This seems to the Committee the most likely means of introducing improved modes of cultivation, and of gradually breaking down the prejudice which separates Practical Agriculture from Education, and if a certain number of the small Talookdars and sons of Traders and Artisans should take to improvement and succeed, the most intelligent of the ryots would adopt the system which they saw to pay, and would learn, from observation and practical experience what they never could have been taught from theoretical education in the Schools."

The Secretary of the Agricultural Society recommends the study of Agriculture in the Normal Schools.

The Honorary Secretary of the British Indian Association which is composed chiefly of Zemindars, writes:—

"The Committee deem it highly desirable that some arrangements should be made for rendering instruction in Agriculture a part of the general scheme of Education in this country. They admit that it would be premature to establish an Agricultural College. The maintenance of such an Institution would be attended with an expense which would not be justified in the present position of things. But the Committee think the object aimed at may be attained by the establishment of Agricultural Teacherships in Vernacular Village Schools in the way suggested by Babu Harimohun Banerjee, as it will bring a knowledge of improved Agriculture within easy reach of that class of the community who are directly engaged in the cultivation of the soil, and to whom it is likely to prove of the greatest use and importance.

"By way of supplement to the above arrangement, the Committee would recommend that greater attention may be directed to the study of the physical sciences in the Collegiate Institutions of the country, particularly to the study of those branches of science which are allied to Practical Agriculture. That alone can effectually remove the deep-rooted prejudices which now prevail in the country against Agriculture and the industrial arts generally. Chairs for some of the sciences already exist, and the Professorial staff may be strengthened in such proportion as may be deemed advisable. Each of the Colleges ought further to be supplied with a well furnished Laboratory, which, the Committee are informed, none of the Mofussil Colleges now possess to the desired extent. The Professors will then have opportunities to introduce practical experiments in illustration of the theories they teach.

"Scientific education will not only assist in the alternation of the crops and the renovation of the soil, but it will aid materially in the development of the general resources of the country. Hence it is that the Committee urge the

extension of the present arrangements for instruction in science and the direction of the attention of our students in the Colleges to those branches of it which are allied to Practical Agriculture.

"With a view to rear up a body of qualified Teachers, it would be necessary, in the first instance, to provide for their instruction in the Normal Schools, which are now maintained for the training of Village Schoolmasters. A Manual of Practical Agriculture in Bengalee may also be prepared, giving a description of the soils of Bengal, their peculiarities, the means of their improvement or the preservation of their vitality, the crops adapted to the soils, the advantages of drainage and irrigation, the leading principles of practical chemistry, in short, such ideas about Agricultural arrangements and the management of cattle as may be easily comprehensive to the masses, and the practical application of which may be beneficial to the country."

"By thus working at the two ends, that is, with the English Colleges at one end, and the Vernacular Schools at the other, some good, the Committee have reason to believe, may be effected, though they can conceive that improvement to the desired extent must be the work of time."

In June 1863, an Agricultural class was opened in connection with the Calcutta Normal School, taught by Babu Harimohun Mookerjee, who reported of the studies in July 1867:—

"The pupils of all the three classes of the Normal School are admitted to this class, and are taught through the medium of lectures for an hour twice a week. The subject of study in this class comprises Elementary Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture. The first is taught by lectures only, there being no class book available in Bengalee. The lectures, however, are so framed, and the points discussed are so illustrated by the exhibition of specimens, that the want of a class book is to some extent obviated. Opportunity is also availed of every Saturday to take the more advanced pupils to the Royal Botanical Gardens for practical instruction, both in structural and systematic Botany and Agriculture. The lectures on Horticulture and Agriculture are devoted to the study of soils, the modes of improving them, the manures best suited to this country, the system of propagating and multiplying plants, the effect of climate on vegetation, and such other subjects as are generally included under those heads. In learning these subjects the boys have the aid of a small treatise published by me, and that of certain manuscript notes which are intended for publication, whenever sufficient encouragement shall offer. These notes treat of the whole subject of Agriculture."

Adam frequently refers not only to Agricultural, but also to Medical Education through the Vernacular:—

Previous to 1807, from fifty to one hundred native doctors used to attend the Native hospital to study the practice there, and introduce it among their countrymen—one of them got so rich as to drive in his carriage.

A Vernacular Medical School of thirty students had previously existed under Dr. Jameson, a knowledge of Hindustani was required, they received eight rupees monthly during their course of three years' study, and were afterwards posted to civil or military employ, on salaries of twenty or thirty rupees monthly, with pensions; instruction through Hindustani was given on Anatomy, Materia Medica, and Clinical subjects. Dr. Barton, another professor, published various Urdu works on Medical subjects.

\* Note.—There are already two good books in Bengalee on this subject, the *Kricha-pat* and *Kricha-Digam*.

In 1828, Dr. Tytler was appointed Anatomical lecturer in the Sanskrit College, with a Pundit assistant. The students not only handled the bones of the human skeleton without reluctance, but in some instances themselves performed the dissection of the softer parts of animals—'an hospital was proposed to be connected with it, as also that the passed pupils should be attached to jails.'

In 1842-43, Dr. Mouat, the Secretary of the Council of Education, circulated a minute stating that, on the ground of the expense of supplying Sub-Assistant Surgeons to the millions of Bengal, it was necessary to have a class trained through the Bengali language, 'men who would be the only checks on the common vendors of poison:' to consist of one hundred persons on scholarships of five rupees monthly, trained by two professors selected from the passed students: when their studies were completed, to be located at their own choice at thannas, 'thus increasing tenfold the usefulness of the Medical College, by bringing the blessings of European medicine to the hearths and homes of the oppressed in remote stations, where Government dispensaries could not be established, and thus forming a special medical Police.' The Council of Education cordially agreed with the plan. Ram Komal Sen, noted for this Oriental scholarship, proposed in 1844 Rupees 1,000 as a prize for the best translation into Bengali of a treatise on Anatomy, Materia Medica, and the treatment of the principal diseases prevalent in India. In his proposal the Babu stated instruction must be given through the Vernacular; the natives studying through an English medium, 'have neither time nor disposition, nor means to communicate to their countrymen the knowledge they possess.

In January 1852, Lord Dalhousie, on the proposal of the Bengal Government and the Professor of the Medical College, passed the following Resolution:—

<p>"The President in Council observes that hitherto the stations and Hospitals in Bengal as well as the North-Western Provinces and Punjab have been supplied with Native Doctors from the Hindustani class in the Medical Colleges, but that, with extension of Territory and augmentation in the number of Medical Institutions, &amp;c., the demand for Native Doctors has considerably increased. To supply this demand, it is proposed to establish a Bengalee class of Native Doctors at the Medical College at a monthly cost of Rupees 605, as noted on the margin."</p>			
	Present.	Now estimated.	Increase.
Teacher of Anatomy and Dissections ..	Rs. 200	Rs. 250	50
" Medicine ..	...	150	150
" Surgery ..	...	150	150
1 Servant ..	...	5	5
50 Stipendiary students at Rupees 5 each ..	...	250	250
Total per mensem ..	...	...	605
Or per annum ..	...	...	7,260

This class has been a great blessing in the villages of Bengal, affording Medical aid to numbers for low fees; it has been a pecuniary success; some of the ex-students make by fees as much

as 100 Rupees per month, and are the only parties calculated to remedy the enormous evils inflicted by the *kobiraj* or native doctor, the source of death to thousands.

In the last Report of the Bengali Class of the Medical College, Dr. Chevers, Principal of the Medical College, states:—

"160 students remained over from the previous year, 97 were admitted into the Licentiate class, and 47 into the Apothecary class, giving a grand total of 304 students at the commencement of the session, against 242 at the beginning of the previous session. This shows an increase of 62, and may be regarded as an index of the popularity of this class among our students and the native community.

"Of the 144 new admissions nine of the Licentiate and 10 of the Apothecary class students, or 19, were stipendiaries on 5 Rupees per mensem, 18 Members of the Licentiate class were vernacular and scholarship holders, 7 Licentiate class and 6 Apothecary class students, or 13, were free students, 63 of the Licentiate class and 31 of the Apothecary class, or 94 in all, were paying students."

There are 94 students *who pay*. Government has lately established a Native Professor of Midwifery for them, and each student pays a fee of one rupee monthly for the instruction.

There is a Hindustani vernacular class in the Medical College which was established many years ago for students designed for the Army; there are 104 Mussalmans and 15 Hindoos studying in it.

The limits assigned to this introduction prevent our entering on the recent subjects of night schools and normal schools for the training of gurus, of the working of the circle system of schools, and above all of the important subject of female education which has taken firm root in the native mind. Babu Bhudev Mookerjee, one of the Inspectors, is now working out a plan for a class of boys' schools which may be attended by girls up to a certain age.

The course of vernacular education owes much to the labors of Babu Bhudev Mookerjee who organised and worked successfully the normal school at Hugly mainly on the principle of oral instruction, the pupils taking copious notes of the lectures. For his labors in connection with guru schools, female education, see the Education Report, for 1865-66, 1866-67, and 1868, Howell's and Monteguth's Notes on Education.

Night Schools have been introduced in connection with the patshalas for the instruction of adult day laborers as well as for those children who work in the day, but can attend only in the evening. The gurus are paid one rupee for every five pupils evincing due progress. Babu Bhudev Mookerjee has 250 night schools under him, attended by about 1,500 pupils, in Burdwan, Bankoora, Midnapore, Murshidabad, Jessore, and Nuddea Districts; the pupils are allowed to pay their fees in cash or kind or labor.

Girls' classes were started in 1866, in schools in which the girls attend the classes along with the boys; at the close of March there were 2,500 girls connected with those classes.



Sir J. Grant's plan in 1861 of giving rewards to old gurus has been modified; the gurus are selected now by the villagers and sent to the Normal Schools; after receiving certificates they go back to their villages and are paid by fixed salaries, subject to reduction in case of their pupils not progressing. The people choose their own gurus; last year the Government paid 25,000 rupees in stipends, the people paying 31,000 rupees. These schools are supplied with maps made by their own gurus; each guru after receiving his certificate remains a fortnight at the normal school to draw the maps of Asia, India, Bengal, and the World.

In 1868 a plan had been begun of establishing three *Normal Training Schools* to provide village school-masters for their *zillahs*; the opening of *patshalas* under the teachers trained in these schools commenced at the beginning of 1864, and the beginning of 1868 has provided for the system 1,125 *patshalas* and 33,831 pupils.

The statistics of Government vernacular education up to March 1867 in Bengal exhibit the following:—

There are 23 Government normal vernacular schools having 1,224 students on the rolls, and 3 private normal schools under inspection containing 129 pupils.

<i>Pupils under Vernacular instruction.</i>		<i>Schools.</i>	<i>Pupils.</i>
Government middle class	...	112	6,865
„ lower „	...	84	3,262
Native girls under inspection	...	183	4,228
<i>Receiving allowances.</i>			
Vernacular middle class	...	195	7,771
„ lower „	...	1,037	29,666
Native girls	...	60	894
<i>Under inspection.</i>			
Vernacular middle class	...	48	1,725
„ lower „	...	277	6,970
Native girls	...	24	363

Such is what has been done, among the things which remain to be done the following deserve consideration:

As one way of meeting the objection that if a boy goes to school he is not fit for the plough, some knowledge of agricultural instruction ought to be communicated in a popular way through class books which ought to be read in schools, and prizes ought to be awarded for proficiency in them; this is done with success in Ireland; peasant boys exhibiting a taste for the study might be sent to an institution which is greatly needed for training gardeners and agriculturists; at present enormous sums of money are wasted in importing valuable plants which the present race of gardeners do not know how to train up.

1. While the pupils of English Schools have before them the prospects of a great number of prizes in the rich and numerous situations in every department opened to those who know English, Vernacular students have none of this, and even the order of Lord Hardinge of 1844, that in all Government situations and even in the lowest the man that can read or write should have the preference over one who could not, has remained to this day a dead letter.

2. The *Grant-in-Aid Rules* requiring a contribution of help from the people is not applicable to Bengal, where the mass of the people have not the ability nor the willingness to contribute.

W. G. Young, Esquire, the first Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, in 1865, wrote as follows on this subject :—

"That this system (of grants in aid), viewed as a means of disseminating education among the masses of the people of Bengal, has failed, and that unless the present rules be modified and the conditions on which grants are given be relaxed, it must continue to fail, is, I believe, the unanimous opinion, not only of the Inspectors and myself, but of every one practically engaged or interested in the work of popular education, and I may perhaps venture to add that this is also, I believe, the opinion of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor."

Mr. Hodgson Pratt, Inspector of Schools, South Bengal, bore similar testimony :—

"I do not see how it is possible for Government with this fact before them to come to any other conclusion than that their measures have failed, and that the education and elevation of the mass of the population cannot possibly be effected so long as Government limits its assistance by the terms and conditions laid down in the Grant-in-aid Rules. It appears to me that such rules are out of place in a country where the value of Education is utterly unfelt by the mass of the people, for the rules presume the highest appreciation of the value of Education, based as they are on the supposition that the people of this country are so desirous of an improved description of instruction, that they will actually pay, not only Schooling fees, but contributions from their private resources: why, this would be too much to expect in scores of places in England, with a civilisation which has been ever steadily growing for centuries, and where the people are blessed with the advantages that race and religion can confer."

Mr. H. Woodrow, Inspector of Schools, Eastern Bengal, wrote as follows :—

"In these Districts grants in aid for Anglo-Vernacular Schools will probably succeed, but they have failed, and will utterly fail, for purely Vernacular Schools."

Lord Stanley's Education Despatch gives the following summary of the opinion formed by Mr. T. C. Hope, of the

**Bombay Civil Service, "the active and intelligent Educational Inspector of the Guzerat Division."**

"That officer has described, in strong terms, the discouragement and loss of time sustained by him in his attempts to secure the voluntary consent of the people to the establishment of Schools under the grant-in-aid system, and the disappointment which frequently ensues on finding that, when the requisite consent has with difficulty been obtained, persons who have acquiesced in the measure have drawn back from their engagement on being called on for the payment of their subscriptions."

The present Director of Public Instruction in Bengal thus shows the want of permanence in aided Schools after they have been established :—

"It may be useful here to record that from March 1855, when the grant-in-aid system was first brought into operation, down to the 30th April 1862, a period of seven years, the number of Schools for which monthly grants were sanctioned amounted to 479, and that during the same period no fewer than 162 of this number, or nearly 34 per cent. of the whole, were from time to time abolished. This statement may be taken as a fair indication of the great instability of Schools under private management, which depend for their support on a source of income so precarious as monthly subscriptions."\*

3. *Cheap Books* are still a crying want: Babu Bhudev Mookerjee in the last report only echoes a general feeling when he states :—

"A series of cheap elementary works for the use of our Patshalas is a standing desideratum. The prices of books hitherto in use have been considerably increased, and it is apprehended that the poorer classes of our countrymen, for whom these institutions are especially intended, can ill afford to purchase them. In the course of my inspection, I visited villages inhabited chiefly by the agricultural classes of the people. On addressing them for the establishment of Patshalas in their villages I heard it stated in several instances by them that the system of instruction of which I talked was too expensive to serve their purpose, that the purchase of books formed a great part of the expense of a School education, and that the means within their reach were too limited to procure it for their children. There was certainly much truth in what they said, and the only way to render our Patshalas suitable to the wants of those for whom they are intended, is to introduce a series of cheap books. The price of the first Book of Reading ought never to exceed half an anna, while that of the last should always be within two annas."

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\* Respecting grants-in-aid being liable to fraud, the following cases have occurred in Bengal in Schools under native management —

"A Master complains that his salary has not been paid. On enquiry, his receipt in full is handed to the Inspector. The signature is admitted to be genuine, but the Master asserts that it was forced from him by a threat of dismissal, and maintains, sometimes certainly with justice, that he has not received his due, or, perhaps, rather than lose his situation, he consents to give his name as a monthly subscriber of a comparatively large amount, sometimes a third of his entire pay, and only receives the difference between his nominal salary and his equally nominal subscription. In some few cases the accounts submitted to the Inspector have proved altogether imaginary. Fees, subscriptions, and subscribers alike, though carefully entered in detail, existed only in paper, the Government grant being made to cover the whole expense of the School. Serious irregularities of this kind were in several instances reported to Government in former years, and the grants were in consequence annulled, a punishment which fell exclusively on the unfortunate children, and did not touch the real culprits."

4. There is a danger in Bengal of the following clause of the Education Despatch of 1854 being forgotten :—

“The Government Schools and Colleges, whether high or low, should be regarded not as permanent institutions, but only as a means for generating a desire and demand for education, and as models meanwhile for imitation by private institutions. In proportion as the demand for education in any given locality is generated, and as private institutions spring up and flourish, all possible aid and encouragement should be afforded to them, and the Government, in place of using its power and resources to compete with parties, should rather contract and circumscribe its own measures of direct education, and so shape its measures as to pave the way for the ultimate abolition of its own Schools.

“We look forward to the time when any general system of education entirely provided by Government may be discontinued, with the gradual advance of the system of grants-in-aid, and when many of the existing Government institutions, especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of, and aided by, the State.”

But the urgent question at present is money.

Twenty-three Normal Schools, and an ample supply of school books are available. The main difficulty in Bengal now is a pecuniary one—funds. £200,000, according to the estimate of the Director of Public Instruction, have been applied for, to organise a system of Vernacular Education, and it is calculated that £180,000 will ultimately be requisite for the maintenance of 40,000 Panchalaks or Village Schools in Bengal; the present expenditure mainly for high Education being about £160,000.

But how is this expense to be met?

It has been shown by Howell in his Note on Education that Government cannot increase the grant to education in Bengal from Imperial Revenues without taxing other and poorer parts of India for Bengal, whose rich plains can yield much to the Imperial Revenue. The Education Authorities, prior to the Despatch of 1859, advocated a local cess for education; it was then suggested as feasible by the Home Government, it has been justified on this ground. “If, therefore, it is essential, even to the material advancement, and to the true prosperity of the people, that the general bulk of the village population should receive education, and the General Revenues of the State cannot bear the cost, it is not unfair that the share of the produce of the land left with the proprietor should bear the burden of the cost, and this, the rather, because the persons who directly benefit are almost wholly agriculturists. That as the impost is levied mainly for the benefit of the agricultural population, it may most fairly be levied upon the land. That the cess when so imposed, though in every sense a true tax, and although levied by the same machinery and from the same source as a land tax, is equally in every sense distinct and separate from it.”

**Mr. Laing, the Financial Minister, propounded the principle in his Budget Speech for 1861-62, when he said—**

“If this great empire is ever to have the roads, the Schools, the local Police, and the other instruments of civilization which a flourishing country ought to possess, it is simply impossible that the Imperial Government can find either the money or the management.”

the principle is being adopted throughout India with success ; in Seind the people see the advantages it brings with it ; the working of the Bombay cess system is thus described in the Directors' Report for 1865-66 :—

“One main cause of the School extension, now taking place in Western India, has been the institution of a local cess for educational purposes in 12 Collectorates of the Presidency, viz., Ahmedabad, Surat, Kaira, Khandeish Sattara, Tanna, Poona, Rutnagherry, Belgaum, Dharwar, Canara, and Kulladghee. This cess having been imposed at a time of great agricultural prosperity, appears not to have been unpopular with the people. The Educational Inspectors report on it as follows :—

“That this cess is popular with the people, and that they recognise the advantages to be derived from its judicious administration, would appear from the fact that, in several places where it has not hitherto been levied, the people have come forward and volunteered to pay it. This has been the case in some villages of the Nusserapoor Talooka of the Tanna Collectorate, and in several detached villages of the Poona Collectorate.

“This year we have had the full benefit of the local cess, which has enabled us to open a large number of Vernacular Schools, and to erect School-houses in places where they were most urgently required, as mentioned above. The cess is, I believe, paid willingly, and the people appear to be fully alive to the benefits to be derived from it ; and from the large increase in the number of scholars, it is evident that they are determined to avail themselves of its benefits to the utmost.”

**In Bombay one of the Inspectors, Mr. Russel, reports—**

“The cess operations have already begun to bring the subject of popular education before both the masses and their rulers in a somewhat different and clearer light than before. The people are beginning to look on Schools as necessary popular institutions, and not merely as a part of the administrative machinery of a foreign government, with which they have little or no concern. The cess-payers now want something in return for their money, and the school attendance of the agricultural classes is increasing. The troublesome and precarious resource of ‘popular contributions’ for schoolmasters’ salaries is dispensed with, since the levy of the cess (but the people are too apt to think that the cess is sufficient for all their school requirements, or, at least, to allego this as a ground for refusing further local contributions, even when urgently needed). Another good effect of the cess is the good example it sets to Inamdars, Jagheer-dars, &c., and their people, who see its operations, however humble at present, in the neighbouring British territory. For instance, I and my deputies have been asked by the people of non-government villages to get the School cess levied for them.”

**Mr. Curtis, another Inspector, states as follows :—**

“The local cess continues popular, and from the numerous petitions received from the people for schools and school-houses, it seems that they are determined to receive the full benefit of the money they contribute towards the extension of Education. In many places where new school-houses, created from Local Funds, were used for the first time, the people raised subscriptions to feast the pupils, and made the day one of rejoicing ; and this without any hint from our Department. The sum of Rupees 428 in nine places in the Surat Collectorate alone was subscribed and spent in this manner

"The expenditure of the local cess has been strictly limited to meeting (in the first place) the wants of the people for Vernacular, or as we call it, 'Primary' Education. And the operation of this rule is most salutary. The money collected has been expended on the sort of schools required by the class of people (the cultivators) by whom it was subscribed. And the result has been to infuse into this class, for the first time, some interest in Education. I have been struck, when travelling in the country districts, by the large proportion of the sons of cultivators to be found in every Village School. The people, as a rule, look upon the local Educational cess as a voluntary contribution; they feel a certain amount of pride and pleasure in it, and are apparently eager in looking for advantages to be derived from it."

The proposed local cess is new in Bengal, *but the emergency is pressing*, as Sir F. J. Halliday, late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in his celebrated Minute on Police and Criminal Justice in Bengal, observes:—

"While the mass of the people remain in their present state of ignorance and debasement, all laws and all systems must be comparatively useless and vain. Above all things that can be done by us for this people is their gradual intellectual and moral advancement through the slow but certain means of a widely spreading popular system of vernacular education."

Mr. Murdoch, in his pamphlet on *National Education in India*, assigns the following as special grounds why mass education is necessary:—

1. *To protect them from oppression.* The brutish ignorance of the ryots counteracts the best efforts of the higher authorities to shield them from injustice. They are subjected to illegal exactions from Zemindars, petty Government Officers, and the Police. The last have been 'modelled and re-modelled,' but with little improvement.

"All are agreed that the *primary* duty of Government is to afford protection. This seems impossible in India, unless the people are, in some measure, educated,

2. *To prevent absurd alarms endangering the peace of the country.* H. Carro Tucker, Esquire, C. B., in his letter to Lord Stanley, gives the following illustrations of the manner in which the people are a prey to the most foolish rumours: 'A report that Government intended to boil them down for their fat cleared Simlah of hill men! A clever rogue in Goruckpoor is said to have made his fortune by preceding Lord Hastings' Camp as purveyor of fat little children for the Governor General's breakfast!' In 1862 miscreants in Oude levied contributions in villages, pretending that they had been ordered by Government to set them on fire. Had the sepoys received a sound education, the Mutiny would not have occurred.

3. *To promote sanitary reform.* India is generally supposed to be the birth-place of that fell disease, cholera, which has more than once carried devastation round the globe. Rich and poor are equally ignorant of the laws of health. Open drains, reeking with filth, often surround the mansions of native millionaires. The annual mortality from preventible causes is frightful.

4. *To develop the resources of the country, and improve the social condition of the people.* As the brutes are governed by instinct, so the masses of India blindly follow custom. In most cases, it is a sufficient reason for the rejection of any proposal, however much adapted to benefit them, that their ancestors never did such a thing. Education would do much to call forth the enormous latent wealth of India.

5. *To elevate the people intellectually, morally, and religiously.* Other considerations affect only this life; the reasons now urged are lasting as eternity."

On the effect of Elementary Schools in improving the habits of the pupils, the Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab remarks:—

“In some districts the effect of Government Vernacular Schools on the man-

Effects of Schools on habits of boys.

ners and habits of the boys is very remarkable. In 1858-59, when many of these Schools

were first established, the widest reports were circulated, and it was asserted that Government, after collecting all the little boys, intended to send them down to Calcutta with some ulterior object that was not clearly explained, but in a short time the scholars were ready to come in from any distance for an examination.

*When the discipline maintained in a district is good, all the boys who appear at an examination are neat and clean in their persons, and are provided with every requisite, such as paper, pens, ink, &c., &c. This is particularly the case in the Loodbianah District (where the standard of education in Village Schools also is unusually high), and is to be attributed to the active supervision of the Chief Mohurir. The effect produced by many of our Village Schools in teaching habits of neatness, order and cleanliness to the rural population is of great importance.”*

In Bengal, where the educated and upper stratum of Native Society is *practically* indifferent to the education of the masses, it is the more incumbent on the State to take up the interests of that dumb animal the ryot,—the peace of the country is at stake. On the question of mass education, and the social elevation which must be its result, depends to a great extent the contentment of the people, the purging the Courts from bribery by an enlightened public opinion, the development of the agricultural and commercial resources of India.

On the other hand, its neglect must bring on what Sir J. Key Shuttleworth, the great English Educationist, has so well stated: “The sure road to socialism is by a prolongation of the contrasts between luxury and destitution; vast accumulations and ill-rewarded toil; high cultivation and barbarism; the enjoyment of political privileges, and the exclusion from all rights by ignorance or indigence.”

J. LONG.

Calcutta, July 30, 1868.

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# MR. ADAM'S LETTER

TO

LORD W. BENTINCK,

ON

## VERNACULAR EDUCATION.

From W. ADAM, Esquire, to the Right Hon'ble Lord WILLIAM  
CAVENDISH BENTINCK, K. C. B., G. C. H., Governor General  
of India,—Dated the 2nd January 1835.

MY LORD,—At your Lordship's request, I have the honor to address you in writing on the subject to which my recent personal communications with your Lordship have had principal reference. Having submitted a proposal to institute an investigation into the actual state of education in this country, with a view to ulterior measures for its extension and improvement, and the object of that proposal being approved by your Lordship, I have been instructed to describe the mode in which the plan might be carried into effect, and to furnish an estimate of the monthly expense that would thereby be incurred. A brief reference to the considerations that recommend the design is requisite to render those details intelligible.

2. It is assumed that Government is desirous of encouraging education amongst all classes of its subjects, whether Christians, Mahomedans, or Hindoos, as a means of improving their condition by a better knowledge of the arts of life that minister to human wants; of purifying and elevating their character by moral and intellectual instruction; and of qualifying them at once to appreciate the benevolent intentions and salutary measures of Government, and to give to those measures the moral force derived from the support of an intelligent and instructed population.

Without this moral force, which education only can create, Government, however benevolently administered, is but the will of the strongest which finds no response, where physical power does not reach, and legislation, however wisely devised, is but a dead letter, which reposes in the statute book, is barely enforced in the Courts, and out of them is inert and unknown.

### 3. Such being the understood objects of Govern-

The object of investigation.

ment in promoting education in this country, the question arises—"What are the best means to be employed for that purpose?" Without disputing any of the answers that have been or may be returned to this question, I have ventured to suggest that a preliminary inquiry without which every scheme must want a foundation to rest upon is—"What is the actual state of education amongst the various classes into which the population of the country is divided?" When the population of a country is homogeneous, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, and having common interests, such an investigation might be the less necessary; but where the more instructed portion of the population is separated from the less instructed portion by difference of language, as in Scotland; by difference of language and religion, as in Ireland; and by the further difference, as in India, caused by the relative position of foreigners and natives, conquerors and conquered, it is indispensable. In such cases it is only by a careful attempt to map the moral and intellectual condition of a people that we can understand either the extent of their knowledge or of their ignorance, discover either what they possess or what they need, and adapt the means employed to the end we desire to accomplish. In a recent investigation into the state of education in the Highlands of Scotland, it was proved that thousands could not read, natives of a country where it had been proudly boasted that all were educated. A similar investigation into the state of education in India may perhaps show, not that the people are less, but that they are more, instructed than we suppose, and that

they have institutions among them both for the purposes of common education and for the propagation or rather preservation of the learning they possess. The institutions to which I refer will probably be found defective in their organization, narrow and contracted in their aim, and destitute of any principle of extension and improvement; but of their existence the large body of literature in the country, the large body of learned men who hand it down from age to age, and the large proportion of the population that can read and write, are proofs. Of course, I do not mean to intimate that their existence has been hitherto unknown, but that their number, their efficiency, their resources and the possibility of employing them as auxiliaries in the promotion of education have not been sufficiently considered.

4. To whatever extent such institutions may exist, and in whatever condition, they may be found, stationary, advancing, or retrograding, they present the only true and sure foundations on which any scheme of general or national education can be established. We may deepen and extend the foundations, we may improve, enlarge and beautify the superstructure, but these *are* the foundations on which the building should be raised. All men, particularly uninstructed and half-instructed men, attach the same importance to forms as to substance, and as forms are merely conventional, it is desirable in the work of reform to disembarass ourselves of opposition founded on the overthrow of ancient forms, and to enlist on our side the prepossessions in favor of their continued use. Besides, there is a probability that those forms, if not at the period of their original adoption, yet by long continued usage are suited to the manners, habits, and general character of the people whom we desire to benefit, and that any other forms which we might seek to establish would in reality be less fitted to supply their place. All schemes for the improvement of education, therefore, to be efficient and permanent, should be based upon the existing institutions of the country, transmitted from time immemorial, familiar to the conceptions of the people, and inspiring them with



respect and veneration. To labor successfully *for* them, we must labor *with* them; and to labor successfully *with* them, we must get them to labor willingly and intelligently *with* us. We must make them, in short, the instruments of their own improvement; and how can this be done but by identifying ourselves and our improvements with them and their institutions? To do this, we must first ascertain what those institutions are, their actual condition, and every circumstance connected with them that can be made to contribute to the object in view. To make this important preliminary inquiry is the service for which I have offered myself to your Lordship.

5. In obedience to your Lordship's orders, I have now to state the manner in which I would propose that this service should be performed. There are two descriptions of places with regard to which a somewhat different mode of investigation will be necessary, viz., first, principal towns or seats of learning, as Calcutta, Nuddea, Dacca, Moorsshedabad; secondly, districts, as Jessore, Midnapore and Purneah.

6. With regard to the former—Taking up my residence at one of the principal towns or seats of learning, I would, with the aid of my Pundit and Moulavee and by friendly communication with the respectable inhabitants and learned men of the place, make an enumeration or list of the various institutions for the promotion of education; classify them according to the denominations of which they may consist, whether Hindoos, Mahomedans, or Christians; public, private, charitable; examine each institution of each class with the consent of the parties concerned, and make a memorandum on the spot of the number of the pupils; the nature and extent of the course of instruction in science and learning; the resources of the institution, whether public or private; if public, whether they appear to be efficiently and legitimately applied, the estimation in which the institution is held by the community to which it belongs, and the possibility or means of raising the character and

enlarging the usefulness of any single institution; or of a whole class. Having exhausted the institutions of one class, I would proceed to another, and from that to a third, repeating the same process in each, until I had obtained a complete knowledge of the state of education in the whole town and neighbourhood. The memoranda thus taken down on the spot and at the instants, the fruits of personal knowledge and direct observation, would supply the materials from which a full and methodical report would be furnished to Government.

7. A somewhat different mode must be employed in investigating the state of education in a district where common schools and schools of learning are indiscriminately scattered over a large surface. In that case, fixing my principal residence at the head station of the zillah, I would diverge from it in all directions to the extreme bounds of the district, passing one, two, three, or more days at one place, according as objects of investigation of the kind connected with my immediate duty presented themselves, entering freely into communication with parents, teachers, and pundits on that subject, examining schools, both common and learned, and, as in the former case, making my memoranda at the time for future guidance in preparing a report. After having completed the range of one district, I would proceed to another, until I had in this manner gone over the whole country assigned to my investigation.

8. The number and frequency of my reports must depend upon the greater or less abundance of the materials with which observation and inquiry may supply me. I should commence my labors with the purpose of furnishing a separate report on the state of education in each principal town and in each district as soon as it has been examined, for there may be circumstances connected with the state of education in the town or district demanding early attention either for the purpose of remedying what is evil, or encouraging what is good. It is also possible, however, that one district may be so entirely a picture of another, with reference to this particular subject,

that a separate report for each will be unnecessary. When I shall have gone the tour of a province; as of Bengal, Behar, Allahabad, or Agra, it would seem proper that I should then furnish a general report, condensing the details of the previous district reports, confirming and amplifying or qualifying and correcting the statements and opinions they contain by the results of more comprehensive observation, and drawing those general conclusions which can be safely grounded only on an extensive induction of particulars. A general report upon school books and books of instruction, or a separate report upon those in each language, distinguishing those that are most useful, pointing out when labor and money have been misapplied, to prevent a recurrence of the same evil, and indicating the department of knowledge in which chiefly defects remain to be supplied, is also a *desideratum*.

9. It will be for your Lordship to determine the limits as to space and time within which this investigation is to be conducted. It may either be limited to the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and the two districts of Midnapore and Cuttack in Orissa subject to the Presidency of Fort William, or, according to the pleasure of your Lordship and the Home Authorities, it may be extended to the provinces subject to the Presidency of Agra. The moral and intellectual condition of the latter is less fully and less accurately known than even that of the former. If experience shall show that the information collected regarding the Bengal and Agra Presidencies is useful, the enquiry might be extended to the other Presidencies. With regard to time, I have no other *data* to guide me than those which are afforded by the fact that Dr. Francis Buchanan was appointed by the Government of the Marquis Wellesley to investigate the agricultural and commercial statistics of the provinces then subject to the Presidency of Fort William, and that, according to my information, he employed the years 1805, 1806, and 1807 in his re-searches. Considering the necessity and importance of care in authenticating, and deliberation in reporting, facts on the subject of education in this country; the difficulties which may

be reckoned on in every new attempt; and the impossibility of travelling during the height of the rains in the plains of Bengal; I do not anticipate that less time will be occupied in my inquiries, if they are directed to be extended over the same space.

10. I have next to furnish an estimate of the expense that will be incurred in carrying this design into effect. Since your Lordship has required me to include in this estimate the sum requisite for my personal remuneration, which I should have gladly left entirely to your Lordship's decision, I trust my suggestion on this head will be viewed with indulgence. I do not offer to engage in this undertaking merely for the sake of a livelihood, but support and provision for my family is one of the objects to which it is my duty to look, and when I mention to your Lordship that for the last six years I have had a net salary of Rupees 700 per month, for the discharge of what certainly were laborious but quiet and sedentary duties, your Lordship will probably not think me unreasonable if I propose the same monthly sum as my personal remuneration for duties still more laborious, since they will exact both much bodily toil and considerable mental activity. If your Lordship, considering the importance of the duties to be discharged, and the responsibility of the agent to be employed, that I am offering to the use of Government the knowledge and experience of mature age and the results of 17 years' residence and studies in India, that I shall devote my undivided attention to the duty with which I may be charged—and that I ask and expect no pension and have no other resource whatever; if, considering these things, your Lordship should think the sum I have mentioned too low for my personal remuneration, I shall be thankful for any addition which your Lordship may deem proper.

11. The other principal items in the estimate consist of the establishment I must maintain and my travelling expenses. Finding it difficult to fix these in my own case, I sought to ascertain from the Civil

Auditor's Office the amount of Dr. Buchanan's allowances, and I have learned that a sum of 440 Sicca Rupees was allowed him for establishment alone. This for me is unnecessarily large, and I have reduced it to the following scale :—

One Maulavi	...	...	...	Sa. Rupees	60
One learned Brahmun	...	...	...	"	50
One Writer or Copyist	..	...	...	"	40
One Duffry at 8, Stationery 32	..	...	...	"	40
Two Hurkarus, at 6	...	...	...	"	12
Two Burkundazes, at 8	...	...	...	"	16

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Total Sa. Rupees 218

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I have not ascertained what were Dr. Buchanan's travelling expenses, but it is probable that they were included in his personal allowance, which was Sicca Rupees 1,500 per month. Estimating my travelling expenses separately, and including under that item boat hire, palkee and palkee-bearers, tent and khala-sees, extra pay to personal servants, and small presents for the encouragement of deserving teachers and students, I do not suppose that the whole can be less than 200 Rupees per month. I should apprehend that my travelling expenses during eight or nine months of the year will rather exceed than fall short of that sum; but on the other hand, although I shall be frequently, I shall not be always, on the move, and the saving at one time will balance the deficit at another. In regard both to establishment and travelling expenses, I avow that I write in considerable uncertainty of what is really necessary for the efficient performance of the service, and it is quite as probable that in some respects I may have over-rated as in others that I have under-rated the expense; but I trust your Lordship will be satisfied that, upon the whole, I have kept within moderate limits. According to this estimate the total monthly expense, consisting of personal allowance, establishment, and travelling expenses, will be Sicca Rupees 1,118 per month. I submit the whole to the correction which your Lordship's better information may supply, and have the

honor to be your Lordship's most obedient and most  
humble servant.

W. ADAM.

*P. S.*—Since writing paragraph 9, I have had reason to believe that there is some mistake in the particular years assigned to Dr. Buchanan's survey, which did not end but commenced in 1807.

W. A.

Minute by His Excellency the GOVERNOR GENERAL, dated  
Calcutta, the 20th January 1835.

As it now seems an universally admitted axiom, that education and the knowledge to be imparted by it can alone effect the moral regeneration of India, nothing need be said in support of this principle. Nor will it be necessary here to advert to the various questions connected with education, which at present occupy the public mind, as to the particular languages to be cultivated, and to be adopted in the transaction of public business, or upon the various other subjects connected with public instruction, because all these questions will, I presume, at a very early period, come before Council from the General Education Committee.

But there is one very material fact still wanting to be known, the actual state of Native education, that is, of that which is carried on, as it probably has been for centuries, entirely under Native management. This information, which Government ought at any rate to possess, regards a most important part of the statistics of India. A true estimate of the Native mind and capacity cannot well be formed without it. But at this time, when the establishment of education upon the largest and most useful basis is become the object of universal solicitude, it is essential to ascertain, in the first instance, the number and descriptions of the Schools and Colleges in the Mofussil; the extent to which instruction is carried; the knowledge and sciences taught in them; the means by which they are supported, with all the particulars relating to their original foundation; and their past and present prosperity. The same enquiry will point out the dreary space, if any, where the human mind is abandoned to entire neglect. I think it very likely that the interference of Government with education, as with most of the other Native Institutions with which we have too often so mischievously meddled, might do much more harm than good. Still it behoves us to have the whole case before us, because

it is possible that the aid of Government, if interference be carefully excluded, might be very usefully applied, and very gratefully received, and a still more important end might be attainable, of making their institutions subsidiary and conducive to any improved general system, which it may be hereafter thought proper to establish.

While writing this paper, there has passed, in circulation, a letter from the Government of Fort St. George, transmitting a report from the Board of Public Instruction at that Presidency, upon the present state of the Government Schools.

I collect from this document, that in 1823 there existed in the Madras Territories no less than 12,498 institutions for education, supported partly by the endowment of Native Princes, but chiefly by the voluntary contributions of the people. In addition to these, the Government of Madras have established 14 Collectorate and 67 Tehsildaree Schools. The annual expense is stated to be Rupees 24,920. I do not know when the Government introduced this measure; but if it took place in 1823, as I conjecture, a sum, amounting to between twenty and thirty thousand pounds, seems to have been very needlessly expended.

The report describes these Government Schools to have been a failure, owing, in great measure, to the inefficiency of the teachers, in consequence of their being badly paid and badly selected; to the want of a due superintendence on the part of the local functionaries, under whom they were placed; and, as is said in paragraph 10, to errors in their original formation. A reform is proposed, in which will be found many judicious suggestions, the principal of which and one the best entitled to attention is the improving and strengthening the Central Presidency Institution. With respect to the Collectorate and Tehsildaree Schools, it appears to me that more has been attempted than was practicable, and that it would have been much better to have established a few good



institutions, with well-appointed teachers of every kind, confined perhaps to the  
\* Presidency, Southern Division, Mysore, Oude Districts, Northern Circars, Masulipatam. six\* great divisions into which the Madras Presidency is formed, where instruction of a superior order might have been obtained, and to which Natives of all ranks and classes would have gladly had recourse, as in the case of the Hindoo College, for the higher education which is there afforded.

From these would have naturally gone forth Teachers of the best kinds in all languages and sciences, and, without any further effort on the part of the Government, true knowledge must have gradually made its way.

It is not my intention to make any proposition in relation to this Report, because it will be, of course, transmitted to the General Education Committee for their remarks and suggestions.

Upon the expediency of possessing the existing state of instruction throughout our territories, there cannot, I think, be a doubt; and the point for consideration seems to be as to the mode of obtaining it, whether by calling upon the local functionaries for a report of all institutions within their districts. or to employ, as in England, a special deputation for the purpose. The first mode would be attended with no expense, but we could not expect from it that fullness of information and accuracy of detail which could lead to any safe conclusion or practical result.

Nothing but a close insight into these institutions, and an enquiry into the feelings of the people themselves, which cannot be made directly by official authority with any prospect of success, and without exciting distrust, could elicit the information and all the data requisite for any future measure. The importance of the subject would well deserve the exclusive time and attention of a commission composed of the ablest of our servants; but neither men nor money adequate to the purpose could at this moment be conveniently spared.

I am of opinion, however, that by a deputation can the object be alone accomplished. There happens to be an individual, peculiarly qualified for this undertaking, Mr. Adam. This gentleman came to India seventeen years ago as a Missionary, and has latterly been the Editor of the *India Gazette*. With considerable ability he possesses great industry and a high character for integrity. His knowledge of the languages, and his habits of intercourse with the Natives, give him peculiar advantages for such an enquiry. The paper which he drew up at my request will better show than anything I can say the correct views with which he is disposed to undertake such a commission, and the remuneration he proposes appears within reasonable limits. His report upon any one zillah or section of the territory, would enable the Government at once to determine whether the task was well executed, and the information obtained worth the charge incurred for it. I should think that two or perhaps three years would more than complete the enquiry, because, the net-work of the institutions of one or more zillahs being ascertained, it is probable that there would be found so much similarity in the general outline as not to make necessary a particular enquiry into the details of every zillah, and the Commissioner, being always in communication with the local Officers, need after a period confine his examination to those institutions which might be remarkable for some peculiar distinction.

If the Council agree in this recommendation, I would propose that Mr. W. Adam be selected for this duty, with a consolidated allowance of Rupees 1,000 for all expenses, with the exception of travelling charges, for which he should make a separate bill upon honor.

W. BENTINCK.

I CONCUR entirely in the above proposition.

H. BLUNT.

A. ROSS.

W. MORISON.

FIRST REPORT  
ON THE  
STATE OF EDUCATION IN BENGAL,  
BY  
MR. W. ADAM,  
1835.

THE importance of more extended and systematic efforts for the promotion of Native education being strongly felt, it has been deemed a necessary preliminary measure to institute an investigation into the number and efficiency of the various descriptions of schools and colleges already in operation throughout the country, exclusive of regimental schools, and institutions under the immediate superintendence and control of the General Committee of Public Instruction. To know what the country needs to be done for it by Government, we must first know what the country has done and is doing for itself. This investigation has been placed under the direction of the General Committee of Public Instruction, and that body have, in the first place, authorised the preparation of a report, in which it is proposed to exhibit a clear and connected view of all that is known, or can be collected from good authority, respecting the present actual state of education in each district. Such a report will show, both what is already known and what yet remains to be ascertained, and will thus in some measure contribute to rescue from oversight or neglect, the results of former investigations, and at the same time give a right direction to the further personal and local inquiries that have been ordered by Government.

The materials for this purpose exist in a very dispersed state, but they have been found to accumulate so much, that it has been judged proper to limit the report which is now submitted, to the province of Bengal, reserving the information that has been collected regarding the state of education in the other provinces for future reports. The sources from which the principal facts and statements have been drawn are five. The *first* is the Buchanan Reports, which are deposited in the office of the Secretary to Government, and to which ready access has been afforded. They originally extended to the districts of Dinajpur, Rangpur, and Purniya in Bengal, besides several districts in Behar; but the volumes containing chapters on the state of education in the Bengal district of Rangpur, and in the Behar district of Shahabad are unfortunately missing. The chapters on the state of education contained in the reports on Dinajpur and Purniya,

of which the former has been published, and the latter exists only in manuscript, I have condensed, adding entire the tables which Dr. Buchanan compiled relating to this subject in those districts. The *second* source from which I have drawn materials is the records of the General Committee of Public Instruction, which furnish information in more scattered details and in a less precise and definite form, but which contain much that is valuable and interesting, principally communicated in answer to circulars sent to different public functionaries by Mr. H. H. Wilson, the Secretary to the Committee, about the period of its establishment. The *third* authority to which I have referred is Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer*, (2nd edition, 2 volumes 1828,) and I have consulted this work as an independent authority, because it is known that the author in compiling it availed himself not only of publications generally accessible, but also of public and private manuscript documents that have never been given to the world. The *fourth* source from which I have obtained information is Missionary, College, and School Reports. The Associations that issue these reports have for the most part religious objects in view which are foreign to the purpose of this inquiry; but they have under various modifications sought to promote education by the establishment of schools and colleges, which cannot but be regarded as valuable auxiliaries to the other means employed for the general enlightenment of the country by the diffusion of knowledge. The *fifth* authority to which I have had recourse is a memoir, with supplement, compiled by the Searcher of Records at the India House, showing the extent to which aid had been afforded by the local Governments in India towards the establishment of Native schools in this country, and published in the first Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 16th August 1832. The memoir and supplement are chiefly occupied with details of Government institutions which are purposely excluded from this report, but they also contain several notices which I have not found elsewhere of philanthropic and private institutions. In addition to the principal sources of information, I have drawn several facts from works incidentally or partially treating the subject, whose authority will be acknowledged in the proper places. I have not introduced into this report any statement of facts resting on my observation and authority, but have merely attempted to bring into a methodised form the information previously existing in detached portions respecting the state of education. The details, therefore, which follow must be regarded as the results of the observations of others, and as depending upon their authority, and all that I have done is to connect them with each other and present them in consecutive order. I have not sought to multiply details except in so far as they are necessary to show the nature and extent of the educational means, apart from Government institutions,

employed for the moral and intellectual improvement of the country. I have applied for information in every quarter in which it might be supposed to exist, and while I have faithfully employed the information communicated, I am fully aware that the high repute and salutary influence of several of the private school and colleges, claim for them a more extended notice than I have deemed compatible with the limited scope of this report.

The sufficiency of the means of education existing in a country depends, first, upon the nature of the instruction given; secondly, upon the proportion of the institutions of education to the population needing instruction; and thirdly, upon the proper distribution of those institutions. I have accordingly endeavored in collecting and compiling the following details, to keep these three considerations in view. The report includes a brief account of the course of instruction pursued in each large class of schools, or in single institutions whose importance entitles them to separate notice. Some idea may be formed of the relative distribution of the means of education to the wants of the population by comparing the districts with each other; but in the present state of our information, the notion thus obtained must be very imperfect, for it cannot be doubted that, in most districts, there are many Native institutions, of which no known record exists, and the distribution of the means of education within each district can be ascertained only by minute local investigation. The estimates of the population of the different districts are still for the most part merely conjectural. No approach to actual investigation was attempted until 1801, during the administration of the Marquis Wellesley, when, by the directions of the Governor General, the Board of Revenue circulated various questions on statistical subjects to the Magistrates and Collectors, with the view of ascertaining the population and resources of their respective districts. The returns are deemed to have been made with too implicit a dependence upon unchecked Native Authorities; and it would appear from the results of subsequent and more minute investigation that the public functionaries, from whatever cause, kept greatly within the real amount. These are the only estimates that have been made of the population of the districts of Midnapur, Hooghly, Jessore, Nuddea, Dacca, Jalalpur, Backergunge, Chittagong, Tippera, Mymensingh, Sylhet, Moorshedabad, Beerbhoom, and Rajshahy. In 1807, 1808, and 1809, Dr. Francis Buchanan surveyed and reported on the Bengal districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur, and Purniya. He had in some instances opportunities of inspecting the original returns of 1801, and satisfied himself of their fallacy; and his own estimates of the population of these three districts, founded on such data as the number of ploughs, the consumption of rice, &c, are greatly in excess of the preceding,—in one instance about double, in another treble, and in a third nearly septuple. In 1814, Mr. Bayley, then Judge and Magistrate of

Bardwan, endeavored with more attention to accuracy than had been in any instance previously given to ascertain the exact number of inhabitants within his jurisdiction, and the amount at which he arrived in like manner exceeded the estimate of 1801. Hamilton remarks that if the population of the other districts was as much underrated in 1801 as that of those estimated by Dr. Buchanan and Mr. Bayley, great as the sum total is, it might be almost doubled. On the other hand, the population of some principal cities has been found by actual census to fall considerably short of what it was before supposed to be. Until, therefore, a complete and accurate census of the population is taken, we can only attempt to judge by approximation of the proportion and fit distribution of the means of instruction, in relation to the real wants of the country.

## SECTION I.

### THE TWENTY-FOUR PERGUNNAHS, INCLUDING CALCUTTA.

*Population.*—The estimate of 1801 makes the population of the Twenty-four Pargunnahs amount to 1,625,000 persons, which Hamilton in one place (Vol. I. p. 190) represents as including the population of Calcutta, and in another place (Vol. II. p. 691) as exclusive of the inhabitants of the Calcutta jurisdiction. It seems the more probable supposition that the returns for the Twenty-four Pargunnahs in 1801 did not include the population subject to the jurisdiction of the Calcutta Magistrates. No complete census has yet been taken of the population of Calcutta. In 1752 Mr. Holwell estimated the number of houses within the Company's bounds at 51,132, and the permanent inhabitants at 409,056 persons, without reckoning the multitude daily coming and going. In 1802 the Police Magistrates reckoned the population of Calcutta at 600,000, and they were of opinion that the city, with a circuit of twenty miles, comprehended 2,225,000. In 1810 Sir Henry Russell, the Chief Judge, computed the population of the town and its environs at 1,000,000; and General Kyd, the population of the city alone at between 400,000 and 500,000 inhabitants. In 1819 the Calcutta School Society estimated the Native population of Calcutta at 750,000. In June 1822 the Magistrates of Calcutta directed returns of the population to be made from the four divisions, and they showed the following results:—Christians 13,138; Mahomedans 48,162; Hindus 118,203; Chinese 414—total 179,917. The number of persons entering the town daily from the suburbs and across the river has been estimated, by stationary peons and sicars placed to count them, at 100,000. Upon the whole, therefore, it appeared to be the opinion of the Magistrates from the returns that, taking the resident population at about 200,000, and those entering the town daily at 100,000, the sum would give a tolerably accurate approximation to the real number.

*Indigenous Elementary Schools.*—By this description are meant those schools in which instruction in the elements of knowledge is communicated, and which have been originated and are supported by the Natives themselves, in contra-distinction from those that are supported by Religious or Philanthropic Societies. The number of such schools in Bengal is supposed to be very great. A distinguished member of the General Committee of Public Instruction in a minute on the subject expressed the opinion, that if one rupee per mensem were expended on each existing village school in the Lower Provinces, the amount would probably fall little short of 12 lakhs of rupees per annum. This supposes that there are 100,000 such schools in Bengal and Behar, and assuming the population of those two Provinces to be 40,000,000, there would be a village school for every 400 persons. There are no *data* in this country known to me by which to determine out of this number the proportion of school-going children, or of children capable of going to school, or of children of the age at which, according to the custom of the country, it is usual to go to school. In Prussia\* it has been ascertained by actual census that in a population of 12,256,725, there were 4,487,461 children under fourteen years of age, which gives 366 children for every 1,000 inhabitants, or about eleven-thirtieths of the nation. Of this entire population of children it is calculated that three-sevenths are of an age to go to school, admitting education in the schools to begin at the age of seven years complete, and there is thus in the entire Prussian monarchy the number of 1,923,200 children capable of receiving the benefits of education. These proportions will not strictly apply to the juvenile population of this country, because the usual age for going to school is from five to six, and the usual age for leaving school is from ten to twelve instead of fourteen. There are thus two sources of discrepancy. The school-going age is shorter in India than in Prussia, which must have the effect of diminishing the total number of school-going children; while on the other hand, that diminished number is not exposed to the causes of mortality to which the total school-going population of Prussia is liable from the age of twelve to fourteen. In want of more precise *data*, let us suppose that these two contrary discrepancies balance each other, and we shall then be at liberty to apply the Prussian proportions to this country. Taking, therefore, eleven-thirtieths of the above-mentioned 400 persons, and three-sevenths of the result, it will follow that in Bengal and Behar there is on an average a village school for every sixty-three children of the school-going age. These children, however, include girls as well as boys, and as there are no indigenous girls' schools, if we take the male and female children to be in equal or nearly equal proportions, there will appear to be an indigenous elementary

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See Cousin's Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia, page 140.

school for every thirty-one or thirty-two boys. The estimate of 100,000 such schools in Bengal and Behar is confirmed by a consideration of the number of villages in those two provinces. Their number has been officially estimated at 150,748, of which, not all, but most have each a school. If it be admitted that there is so large a proportion as a third of the villages that have no schools, there will still be 100,000 that have them. Let it be admitted that these calculations from uncertain premises are only distant approximations to the truth, and it will still appear that the system of village schools is extensively prevalent; that the desire to give education to their male children must be deeply seated in the minds of parents even of the humblest classes; and that these are the institutions, closely interwoven as they are with the habits of the people and the customs of the country, through which primarily, although not exclusively, we may hope to improve the morals and intellect of the Native population.

It is not, however, in the present state of these schools, that they can be regarded as valuable instruments for this purpose. The benefits resulting from them are but small, owing partly to the incompetency of the instructors, and partly to the early age at which through the poverty of the parents the children are removed. The education of Bengalee children, as has been just stated, generally commences when they are five or six years old and terminates in five years, before the mind can be fully awakened to a sense of the advantages of knowledge or the reason sufficiently matured to acquire it. The teachers depend entirely upon their scholars for subsistence, and being little respected and poorly rewarded, there is no encouragement for persons of character, talent or learning to engage in the occupation. These schools are generally held in the houses of some of the most respectable native inhabitants or very near them. All the children of the family are educated in the vernacular language of the country; and in order to increase the emoluments of the teachers, they are allowed to introduce, as pupils, as many respectable children as they can procure in the neighborhood. The scholars begin with tracing the vowels and consonants with the finger on a sand-board, and afterwards on the floor with a pencil of steatite or white crayon; and this exercise is continued for eight or ten days. They are next instructed to write on the palm-leaf with a reed-pen held in the fist not with the fingers, and with ink made of charcoal which rubs out, joining vowels to the consonants, forming compound letters, syllables, and words, and learning tables of numeration, money, weight, and measure, and the correct mode of writing the distinctive names of persons, castes, and places. This is continued about a year. The iron style is now used only by the teacher in sketching on the palm-leaf the letters which the scholars are required to trace with ink. They are next advanced to the study of arithmetic and the use of



the plantain-leaf in writing with ink made of lamp-black, which is continued about six months, during which they are taught addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division, and the simplest cases of the mensuration of land and commercial and agricultural accounts, together with the modes of address proper in writing letters to different persons. The last stage of this limited course of instruction is that in which the scholars are taught to write with lamp-black ink on paper, and are further instructed in agricultural and commercial accounts and in the composition of letters. In country places the rules of arithmetic are principally applied to agricultural and in towns to commercial accounts: but in both town and country schools the instruction is superficial and defective. It may be safely affirmed that in no instance whatever is the orthography of the language of the country acquired in those schools, for although in some of them two or three of the more advanced boys write out small portions of the most popular poetical compositions of the country, yet the manuscript copy itself is so inaccurate that they only become confirmed in a most vitiated manner of spelling, which the imperfect qualifications of the teacher do not enable him to correct. The scholars are entirely without instruction, both literary and oral, regarding the personal virtues and domestic and social duties. The teacher, in virtue of his character, or in the way of advice or reproof, exercises no moral influence on the character of his pupils. For the sake of pay, he performs a menial service in the spirit of a menial. On the other hand, there is no text or school-book used containing any moral truths or liberal knowledge, so that education being limited entirely to accounts, tends rather to narrow the mind and confine its attention to sordid gain, than to improve the heart and enlarge the understanding. This description applies, as far as I at present know, to all indigenous elementary schools throughout Bengal.

The number of such schools in Calcutta is considerable. A very minute inquiry respecting them was instituted when the Calcutta School Society was formed in 1818-19. The result was that the number within the legal limits of Calcutta was 211, in which 4,908 children received instruction. Assuming the returns of the Hindoo and Mahomedan population of Calcutta made in 1822 to be correct, this number is about one-third the number of Native children capable of receiving instruction, the other two-thirds being without the means of instruction in institutions of Native origin. In 1821, of these schools, 115, containing 3,828 scholars, received books from the School Society, and were examined and superintended by its officers and agents; while 96 schools, containing 1,080 scholars, continued entirely unconnected with that Society. In 1829, the date of the fifth report of the School Society, the number of schools in connection with it had been reduced to 81; and since that date there

has been no account given to the public of the Society's operations. There is no reason to suppose that the indigenous schools unconnected with it are less numerous than when their condition was first investigated in 1818-19 : on the contrary, the impulse which education has since received in Calcutta has most probably increased both their number and efficiency.

The improvements introduced by the School Society into the schools in immediate connection with it are various. Printed, instead of manuscript, school-books are now in common use. The branches formerly taught are now taught more thoroughly ; and instruction is extended to subjects formerly neglected, viz., the orthography of the Bengalee language, geography, and moral truths and obligations. The mode of instruction has been improved. Formerly the pupils were arranged in different divisions according as they were learning to write on the ground with chalk, on the palm-leaf, on the plantain-leaf, and on paper, respectively ; and each boy was taught separately by the school-master in a distinct lesson. The system of teaching with the assistance of monitors, and of arranging the boys in classes, formed with reference to similarity of ability or proficiency, has been adopted ; and as in some instances it has enabled the teachers to increase the number of their pupils very considerably, and thereby their own emoluments, it is hoped that it will ultimately have the effect of encouraging men of superior acquirements to undertake the duties of instructors of youth. A system of superintendence has been organized by the appointment of a Pundit and a Sircar, to each of the four divisions into which the schools are distributed. They separately attend two different schools in the morning and two in the evening, staying at least one hour at each school, during which time they explain to the teachers any parts of the lessons they do not fully comprehend, and examine such of the boys as they think proper in their different acquirements. The destinations of the Pundits and Sircars are frequently changed, and each of them keeps a register, containing the day of the month ; the time of going to, and leaving, each school ; the names of the boys examined ; the page and place of the book in which they were examined ; and the names of the school-masters in their own hand-writing,--which registers are submitted to the Secretaries of the Society every week through the head Pundit. Further examinations, both public and private, yearly, half-yearly, or quarterly, as necessity or convenience dictated, have been held in the presence of respectable European and Native gentlemen, when gratuities were given to deserving teachers, and prize-books to the best scholars, as well as books bestowed for the current use of the schools. The tendency of all these measures to raise the character and qualifications of the teachers must be apparent, and it is with reference to this tendency that the labors of the Calcutta School Society have received the special approbation of the Court of

Directors. In 1825 the Court, in confirming the grant of Rupees 500 per month which had been made to this Society by the Local Government, made the following remarks: "The Calcutta School Society appears to combine with its arrangements for giving elementary instruction, an arrangement of still greater importance for educating teachers for the indigenous schools. This last object we deem worthy of great encouragement, since it is upon the character of the indigenous schools that the education of the great mass of the population must ultimately depend. By training up, therefore, a class of teachers, you provide for the eventual extension of improved education to a portion of the Natives of India far exceeding that which any elementary instruction that could be immediately bestowed, would have any chance of reaching." In consequence of the reduction of the Society's means, the examinations have been discontinued since 1833. Unequivocal testimony is borne to the great improvement effected by the exertions of the School Society, both in the methods of instruction employed in the indigenous schools of Calcutta, and in the nature and amount of knowledge communicated; and I have thus fully explained the operations of this benevolent Association, because they appear to me to present an admirable model, devised by a happy combination of European and Native philanthropy and local knowledge, and matured by fifteen years' experience, on which model, under the fostering care of Government, and at comparatively little expense, a more extended plan might be framed for improving the entire system of indigenous elementary schools throughout the country.

In these schools the Bengalee language only is employed as the medium of instruction; but the children of Mahomedans, as well as the various castes of Hindoos, are received without distinction. Mahomedans have no indigenous elementary schools peculiar to themselves, nor have they any regular system of private tuition. Every father does what he can for the instruction of his children, either personally or by hiring a tutor; but few fathers, however qualified for the task, can spare from their ordinary avocations the time necessary for the performance of such duties, and hired domestic instructors, though unquestionably held in more honor than among Hindoos, and treated with great respect by their pupils and employers, are always ill-paid and often superannuated,—men, in short, who betake themselves to that occupation only when they have ceased from age to be fit for any other. There are, moreover, few who are qualified to instruct their children, and fewer who are able to employ a tutor.

It cannot be doubted that there are many indigenous elementary schools in the Twenty-four Pergunnahs beyond the limits of Calcutta; but I have not met with any account of their number or condition. As far as appears from any document or publication within my reach, less information is possessed respecting the state

of education in this district, containing the metropolis of the country, than in several distant and less civilized districts of Bengal. The only reference to such schools in the Twenty-four Pergunnahs, I find in one of the reports of the Calcutta School Society, which in 1819 received applications from many schoolmasters beyond the Mahratta Ditch, that they also might be permitted to partake of its benefits; but it was not then deemed advisable to extend the connections of the Society, and the applications do not appear to have been subsequently renewed.

*Elementary Schools not Indigenous.*—Besides the indigenous elementary schools in connection with the Calcutta School Society, that Association originally established five elementary schools which it entirely controlled and supported. These schools were established on the ground that Native schools which exist by the support and under the control of Europeans or Societies, should be good of their kind rather than numerous; adapted rather to improve by serving as models than to supersede the established seminaries of the country;—designed rather to educate the children of the poor than the numerous youth of this country whose parents are able and willing to pay for their instruction,—a sound and judicious rule which, it may be feared, has been often neglected. The great expenditure necessary to be incurred for these schools and the limited and irregular attendance, led to the transfer of three of them to the care of the Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society. Another of these schools was situated in a quarter of the city chiefly occupied by Musalmans to whom the Bengalee is not the current medium of communication. A zealous and respectable Mahomedan member of the Committee of the Society personally superintended it, and it was placed under a teacher of Hindustani who, without excluding Bengali, gave instruction through elementary works in the Persian and Nagree characters. This school was discontinued, which is the more to be regretted as it was perhaps the only elementary public school for that portion of the inhabitants of Calcutta who speak Hindustani. The remaining school was situated at Arpuly, and was in operation under the personal superintendence of the Secretary of the School Society until the beginning of 1833, when, in consequence of the insolvency of the treasurers and the loss of many of the most valuable subscribers, it was relinquished. The house in which the school had till then been conducted, was so old that it could not be repaired, and a new one would have cost a large sum than the School Society could afford. Any attempt at that time to revive the interest of the public in the Society would probably have failed in consequence of the general distress; but it would certainly be attended with more success at the present time. According to the last report, it contained about 225 boys, who were instructed by a Pundit and four Native teachers, and were divided into eleven classes, occupied with different Bengalee studies from

the alphabet upwards. They were taught reading, writing, spelling, grammar, and arithmetic, and the plan on which the duties of the school were conducted was nearly similar to that of an English school. In order to afford sufficient time for the boys to acquire a considerable knowledge of Bengalee before they began to learn English, no pupil was admitted into the school above eight years of age. The scholars were promoted to the Society's English School or to the Hindu College as a reward for their proficiency in Bengalee, the study of which they were required to continue until they acquired a competent knowledge of the language. This attention to the cultivation of the language of the country, the chief medium through which instruction can be conveyed to the people, was a highly gratifying feature in the operations of this Society; and an additional advantage of the school at Arpuly was the example which it afforded to the whole of the indigenous schools. The best proof of the estimation in which it was held by the Native inhabitants of the neighborhood, was the frequent earnest solicitation received from the most respectable Natives to have their children educated in it.

It is deeply to be regretted that the operations of a Society, conducted with so much judgment and success, should be thus crippled and curtailed.

The *Calcutta Diocesan Committee* of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts has several elementary schools in the neighborhood of Calcutta. The following is a synopsis of their number, and of the average daily attendance at each, extracted from the last report (1834.)

*Tallygungé Circle.*

	<i>Average daily attendance.</i>
Ballygungé	80
Kahghaut	90
Janpara	25
Rajapur	32
Undermanick	30
	— 257
Barrupur	15

*Howrah Circle.*

Howrah	80
Seebpur	80
Batore	70
Sulkea	70
Ballee	95
	— 395
	<hr/> 697 <hr/>

Besides reading, writing, ciphering, grammar, and geography, it is a feature of these, and I believe all other Missionary schools, whether Bengali or English, that religious instruction is given to the scholars. The books employed for this purpose are the Gospels, Watts' Catechism, Ellerton's Dialogues, and Scripture History, the History of Joseph, &c., &c. The Native mode of writing on stand, palm-leaves, and plantain-leaves, is adopted in these schools.

The Calcutta Church Missionary Association has thirteen elementary schools, partly in the town and partly in the villages, the average number of children receiving instruction being about 600. There is also a Christian school on the Mission-premises at Mirzapur, containing about seventy scholars, and a separate school for the Mahomedan population averaging thirty-nine boys. In connection with this Association, but not under its immediate direction, there is also a school at Beyala near Kidderpur, containing about 100 scholars. The course of instruction pursued in the schools is explained to consist in grammar, geography, reading the old and new testaments, spelling, writing, and arithmetic. They are chiefly intended for the lower classes of the population, and it is considered by this Association that more need hardly be attempted in their behalf than elementary instruction. The early removal of the children from school is greatly lamented.

In the villages to the south of Tolly's Nullah there are three elementary boys' schools, supported by the Ladies' Society, connected with the Boli Bazar Missionary Society, and thereby with the Serampur Mission. The following are the names of the villages, and the number of the scholars in attendance. In the school at Debpur there are twenty in attendance; at Balarampur about forty-five, and at Lakhyantipur forty-four. At Anundapur, also, an estate in the Soonderbuns belonging to Serampur College, is a boys' elementary school supported by the Serampur Mission, the attendance fifty-two.

Formerly there were several schools in Calcutta supported by the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society in connection with the London Missionary Society. The Bengali language only was taught, much time and labor was bestowed, and much expense incurred; but the Committee of the Society remark that during the last five or six years the desire to obtain a knowledge of the English language has been so great that a school in which this was not taught, was sure to dwindle away. To continue the schools on the old plan was deemed a waste of time and money, and to commence the new plan was impossible, both for want of funds and of qualified superintendence. The schools, therefore, in and about Calcutta, have been discontinued, with the exception of one at Krishnapur, at which from 10 to 20 children attend. It thus appears that the desire to obtain an acquaintance with English tends to the neglect of the vernacular language and has led to the

discontinuance of elementary schools. These effects are not necessary, for the study of the two languages may be combined with advantage, as the labors of the School Society show; but they are effects which are naturally produced in the circumstances of this country upon ignorance and youth, and it should be deemed an important object to counteract them. At Kidderpur, where this Society has a Missionary Station, there are five other elementary schools containing about 260 boys, whose progress in the various branches taught is stated to be encouraging and satisfactory.

*Indigenous Schools of Learning.*—Ward in his work on the Hindoos has given, on the whole, a correct account of the state of indigenous learning and of the institutions by which it is preserved among the Hindoos. The principle which secures the perpetuation of these institutions, as long as the Hindoo religion subsists and is professed by the mass of the people and by a majority of the wealthy and powerful, is that it is deemed an act of religious merit to acquire a knowledge of the Hindoo shastras, or to extend the knowledge of them either by direct instruction or by pecuniary support or assistance given either to scholars or teachers. Hence the privations to which the students submit in the prosecution of the prescribed course of study: the disinterestedness of the teachers in bestowing their instructions gratuitously with the addition, always of shelter, often of food, and sometimes of clothing; and the liberality of landholders and others shown by occasional endowments of land and frequent gifts of money both to teachers and scholars on the occasion of funeral feasts, weddings, dedications, &c. The number of such institutions throughout the country is unknown, nor are sufficient data possessed on which to rest a probable conjecture. In the district of Dinapur, Dr. Buchanan found only 16, and in that of Purnya not less than 119,—a difference between two neighbouring districts in which some mistake may be suspected. The estimates of the number in other districts, besides those reported on by Dr. Buchanan, are not the results of personal inquiries, and less dependence is, therefore, to be placed on them. If I were to hazard a conjecture founded on all the facts and statements I have met with, I should say that there are on an average probably 100 such institutions in each district of Bengal, which would give 1,000 for the whole province. An estimate of the total number of students must depend upon the approach to correctness of the conjecture respecting the total number of schools; but the following facts may help towards the formation of a correct opinion respecting the average number of students in each school. In 1818, Mr. Ward enumerated 28 schools of Hindoo learning in Calcutta, in which 173 scholars received instruction, averaging upwards of six scholars to each school. He also enumerated 31 schools of Hindoo learning at Nuddea, in which 717 scholars received

instruction, averaging upwards of 24 scholars to each school. In 1830 Mr. H. H. Wilson ascertained by personal enquiry at Nuddea, that there were then about 25 schools in which between 5 and 600 scholars received instruction, and taking the number of scholars at 550 the average to each school will be 22. The average of these three estimates would give  $17\frac{1}{2}$  scholars to each school. The lowest or Calcutta average, that of six scholars to each school, I consider more probable than the others, for the instances are numerous throughout the country in which a learned Hindoo teacher has not more than three or four pupils. Assuming the Calcutta average, and the previous estimate of the total number of schools, there will appear to be 10,800 students of Hindoo learning throughout Bengal. The total number of teachers and students of Hindoo learning will thus be 12,600; and this number is exclusive of a large class of individuals who, after having received instruction in a school of learning, and become in the technical sense of the term *Pundits* or learned men, from various causes decline to engage in the profession of teaching. If further inquiry should show that the lowest estimate which is that I have assumed, is one-half in excess of the truth, there will still remain a large and influential class of men who either have received or are engaged in giving and receiving a Hindoo collegiate education.

The Hindoo colleges or schools in which the higher branches of Hindoo learning are taught are generally built of clay. Sometimes three or five rooms are erected, and in others nine or eleven, with a reading-room which is also of clay. These huts are frequently erected at the expense of the teacher, who not only solicits alms to raise the building, but also to feed his pupils. In some cases rent is paid for the ground; but the ground is commonly, and in particular instances both the ground and the expenses of the building are, a gift. After a school-room and lodging-rooms have been thus built, to secure the success of the school, the teacher invites a few Brahmans and respectable inhabitants to an entertainment, at the close of which the Brahmans are dismissed with some trifling presents. If the teacher finds a difficulty in obtaining scholars, he begins the college with a few junior relatives, and by instructing them and distinguishing himself in the disputations that take place on public occasions, he establishes his reputation. The school opens early every morning by the teacher and pupils assembling in the open reading-room, when the different classes read in turns. Study is continued till towards mid-day, after which three hours are devoted to bathing, worship, eating, and sleep; and at three they resume their studies which are continued till twilight. Nearly two hours are then devoted to evening-worship, eating, smoking, and relaxation, and the studies are again resumed and continued till ten or eleven at night. The evening studies consist of a revision of the lessons already learned, in order that what the pupils have read may be impressed more



distinctly on the memory. These studies are frequently pursued, especially by the students of logic, till two or three o'clock in the morning.

There are three kinds of colleges in Bengal—one in which chiefly grammar, general literature, and rhetoric, and occasionally the great mythological poems and law are taught; a second, in which chiefly law and sometimes the mythological poems are studied; and a third, in which logic is made the principal object of attention. In all these colleges select works are read and their meaning explained; but instruction is not conveyed in the form of lectures. In the first class of colleges, the pupils repeat assigned lessons from the grammar used in each college, and the teacher communicates the meaning of the lessons after they have been committed to memory. In the others the pupils are divided into classes according to their progress. The pupils of each class having one or more books before them, seat themselves in the presence of the teacher, when the best reader of the class reads aloud, and the teacher gives the meaning as often as asked, and thus they proceed from day to day till the work is completed. The study of grammar is pursued during two, three, or six years, and where the work of Panini is studied, not less than ten, and sometimes twelve, years are devoted to it. As soon as a student has obtained such a knowledge of grammar as to be able to read and understand a poem, a law book, or a work on philosophy, he may commence this course of reading also, and carry on at the same time the remainder of his grammar-studies. Those who study law or logic continue reading either at one college or another for six, eight, or even ten, years. When a person has obtained all the knowledge possessed by one teacher, he makes some respectful excuse to his guide and avails himself of the instructions of another. Mr. Ward, for whom many of the preceding details have been copied, estimates that “amongst one hundred thousand Brahmans, there may be one thousand who learn the grammar of the *sanskritu*, of whom four or five hundred may read some parts of the *kavya* (or poetical literature), and fifty some parts of the *utankaru* (or rhetorical) shastras. Four hundred of this thousand may read some of the *smritis* (or law works); but not more than ten any part of the *tantras* (or the mystical and magical treatises of modern Hinduism). Three hundred may study the *nyaya* (or logic), but only five or six the *meimangsu*, (explanatory of the ritual of the veds), the *sunkhyu* (a system of philosophical materialism) the *vedantu* (illustrative of the spiritual portions of the veds), the *pitunjabu* (a system of philosophical asceticism), the *vaisheshika* (a system of philosophical anti-materialism), or the *veda* (the most ancient and sacred writings of Hindoos). Ten persons in this number of Brahmans may become learned in the astronomical shastras, while ten more understand these very imperfectly. Fifty of this thousand may read the shree

*bhaguruti*, and some of the *pooranus*." At the present day probably the *alankar shastras* and the *tantras* are more studied than is here represented. The astronomical works also received more attention. The colleges are invariably closed and all study suspended on the eighth day of the waxing or waning of the moon; on the day in which it may happen to thunder; whenever a person or an animal passes between the teacher and the pupil while reading; when an honorable person arrives, or a guest; at the festival of *Saraswati* during three days; in some parts during the whole of the rainy season, or at least during two months which include the *Doorga*, the *Kali*, and other festivals, and at many other times. When a student is about to commence the study of law or of logic, his fellow students, with the concurrence and approbation of the teacher, bestow on him an honorary title descriptive of the nature of his pursuit, and always differing from any title enjoyed by any of his learned ancestors. In some parts of the country, the title is bestowed by an assembly of *Pundits* convened for the purpose, and in others the assembly is held in the presence of a *raja* or *zemindar* who may be desirous of encouraging learning and who at the same time bestows a dress of honor on the student and places a mark on his forehead. When the student finally leaves college and enters on the business of life, he is commonly addressed by that title.

The means employed by the Mahomedan population of Bengal to preserve the appropriate learning of their faith and race are less systematic and organized than those adopted by the *Hindoos*, and to whatever extent they may exist, less enquiry has been made and less information is possessed respecting them. It is believed, however, that, in the Lower as well as the Western Provinces, there are many private Mahomedan schools begun and conducted by individuals of studious habits who have made the cultivation of letters the chief occupation of their lives, and by whom the profession of learning is followed, not merely as a means of livelihood, but as a meritorious work productive of moral and religious benefit to themselves and their fellow creatures. Few, accordingly, give instruction for any stipulated pecuniary remuneration, and what they may receive is both tendered and accepted as an interchange of kindness and civility between the master and his disciple. The number of those who thus resort to the private instructions of masters is not great. Their attendance and application are guided by the mutual convenience and inclination of both parties, neither of whom is placed under any system nor particular rule of conduct. The success and progress of the scholar depend entirely on his own assiduity. The least dispute or disagreement puts an end to study, no check being imposed on either party, and no tie subsisting between them beyond that of casual reciprocal advantages which a thousand accidents may weaken or dissolve. The number of pupils seldom exceeds six. They are sometimes permanent residents

under the roof of their masters, and in other instances live in their own families; and in the former case, if Musalmans, they are supported at the teacher's expense. In return, they are required to carry messages, buy articles in the bazar, and perform menial services in the house. The scholars in consequence often change their teachers, learning the alphabet and the other introductory parts of the Persian language of one, the *Pandnamah* of a second, the *Gulistan* of a third, and so on from one place to another, till they are able to write a tolerable letter and think they have learned enough to assume the title of *Munshi*, when they look out for some permanent means of subsistence as hangers-on at the Company's Courts. The chief aim is the attainment of such a proficiency in the Persian language as may enable the student to earn a livelihood; but not, unfrequently, the Arabic is also studied, its grammar, literature, theology and law. A proper estimate of such a desultory and capricious mode of education is impossible.

The number of institutions of Hindoo learning, now existing in Calcutta and the Twenty-four Pargannahs, is not accurately known. Mr. Ward in his work published in 1813 enumerates 28 schools of Hindoo learning in Calcutta, naming the teacher of each school, the quarter of the city in which the school was situated, and the number of students receiving instruction. These institutions are also mentioned as only some amongst others to be found in Calcutta. The *nyayā* and *smṛiti śāstras* chiefly were taught in them; and the total number of scholars belonging to the colleges actually enumerated was 173, of whom not less than three, and not more than fifteen, received the instructions of the same teacher. The enumeration to which I refer is subjoined in Mr. Ward's words:—

“The following among other colleges are found in Calcutta and in these the *nyayā* and *smṛiti śāstras* are principally taught—Umuntu-Ramn-Vidya-Vageeshu, of *Hatti-Bagan*, fifteen students—Ramur-Koomaru-Turkalunkaru, of ditto, eight students—Ramur-Poshum-Vidylunkaru, of ditto, eight ditto.—Ramur Doolalu-Chooramnee, of ditto, five ditto.—Gouru-Munee Nyayalunkaru, of ditto, four ditto.—Kashee-Nathu-Turku Vageeshu, of *Ghoshulu-Bagan*, six ditto.—Ramur-Shevuku Vidya-Vageeshu, of *Shikdare-Bagan*, four ditto.—Mrityoonjyun Vidyalunkaru, of *Bag-Bazar*, fifteen ditto.—Ramur-Kishoru-Turku Chooramnee, of ditto, six ditto.—Ramur-Koomaru-Shiromunee of ditto, four ditto.—Jyun-Narayunu-Turku-Punchannu, of *Tulsi-Bagan*, five ditto—Shumbhoo-Vachusputee, of ditto, six ditto.—Sivur-Ramn-Nyay-Vageeshu, of *Lal-Bagan*, ten ditto.—Gouru-Mohun-Vidya-Bhooshun, of ditto, four ditto.—Huree Pitsadu-Turku-Punchannu, of *Hatti-Bagan*, four ditto.—Ramur-Narayunu-Turku-Punchannu, of *Shimla*, five ditto.—Ramur-Huree-Vidya-Bhooshun, of *Huree-Tulsi-Bagan*, six ditto.—

Kaivala-Kantu-Vidyalkankaru, of *Arukoolce*, six ditto.—Govindu-Turku-Punchannu, of ditto, five ditto.—Peetamburu-Nynnu-Bhooshannu, of ditto, five ditto.—Parvatee-Turku-Bhooshannu, of *T'hunt-hunya*, four ditto.—Kashee-Nathu-Turkalankaru, of ditto, three ditto.—Ramu-Nathu-Vachusputee, of *Shimla*, nine ditto.—Ramu-Tunoo-Turku-Siddhantu, of *Mulunga*, six ditto.—Ramu-Tunoo-Vidya-Vageeshu, of *Shobha-Bazar*, five ditto.—Ramu-Koomaru-Turku-Punchannu, of *Icerupara*, five ditto.—Kalee-Dasu-Vidya-Vageeshu, of *Italee*, five ditto.—Ramu-Dhnu-Turku-Vageeshu, of *Shimla*, five ditto.”

Hamilton states that in 1801 there were within the limits of the Twenty-four Pergunnahs, and as I suppose must be understood beyond the limits of the town of Calcutta, 190 seminaries in which Hindoo law, grammar, and metaphysics, were taught. These institutions are stated to have been maintained by the voluntary contributions of opulent Hindoos and the produce of charity lands, the total annual expense being Rupees 19,500. No details are given, but it may be inferred, although it is not expressly mentioned, that the statement rests on the authority of official documents. No cause has been in operation in the intermediate period to render it probable that the number of such seminaries within this district has since then been materially diminished. Mr. Ward mentions that at *Jayannagar* and *Mujdee Poon* seventeen or eighteen similar schools were found, and at *Andoolce* ten or twelve, these villages, according to my information, being within the limits of the district, but it is probable that they are included in the more comprehensive enumeration mentioned by Hamilton.

I do not find any account on record of any private institutions for the promotion of Mahomedan learning either in Calcutta or in the surrounding district. Hamilton states that in 1801 there was one, and but one, *madrasa* or college for instruction in Mahomedan law, but he does not mention its particular locality, and it is not improbable that he refers to the institution endowed by Warren Hastings, and now under the superintendence of the General Committee of Public Instruction. There can be no doubt, however, that in this as well as in other districts of Bengal in which we have no authentic account of the state of Mahomedan learning, that loose system of private tuition already described prevails to a greater or less extent.

One of the objects of the Calcutta School Society was to provide a body of qualified Native teachers and translators; and in pursuance of this object the Committee at first sent twenty boys, considered to be of promising abilities, to the Hindoo College to be educated at the Society's charge; and subsequently ten others were added. There are thus always thirty scholars at the Hindoo College receiving an English education at the expense of the School Society, and the selection of pupils, to fill the vacancies

which occur from time to time, affords considerable encouragement to the boys in the indigenous schools. In 1829 three of the young men who had received their education at the Hindoo College at the expense of the School Society, on leaving the college were engaged as English teachers in the Society's own school for which they were eminently qualified, and others have obtained respectable employment in Calcutta. The Society's scholars are said to rank among the brightest ornaments of the college.

In prosecution of the same views the Committee of the School Society in 1823 established an elementary English school, entirely under its own management, to teach reading, writing, spelling, grammar and arithmetic, the vacancies in which are filled by pupils selected from the indigenous schools for their proficiency; and those again who afterwards prove themselves particularly deserving are in due course removed for superior education to the Hindoo College to which this elementary school is intended to be preparatory. It was hoped that this school would excite the emulation of the Native boys, and that by raising the qualifications for admission, and thus inducing parents to keep their children longer than usual at the indigenous schools, it would have the effect of increasing the emoluments and respectability of the Native teachers. This object appears to have been in some measure attained, for in the report of 1829 it is expressly stated that several instances have come to the knowledge of the Society's superintendence, in which the observance of the rules of admission has afforded considerable advantage to the Native teachers of the indigenous schools, by encouraging the boys to remain longer with them and thereby increasing their emoluments. In the above mentioned year the school contained about 120 boys who, besides the usual elements of reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic, acquired a considerable knowledge of the English language and its grammatical construction, could translate with some degree of correctness, had a good acquaintance with Grecian, Roman, and English history, and with the leading facts of geography, together with the political divisions of Europe and Asia. It was at that time deemed expedient to improve the means of instruction by employing a greater number of qualified teachers and allowing a larger supply of valuable books and materials, in order to keep pace with the acquisitions of the students.

Attached to the Society's Bengalee school at Arpuly already noticed was an English school, the pupils being selected from the one to learn English, in the other as a reward for their diligence. In 1829 there were ninety-three boys learning English in this school, from which promotions were occasionally made to the Society's other English school, and sometimes to the Hindoo College; but this school was discontinued in 1833, at the same time with the Bengalee school at Arpuly, and for the same reasons.

*Native Female Schools.*—The first attempt to instruct Native girls in Calcutta, in organized schools, was made by the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society, which has subsequently assumed the name of the Calcutta Baptist Female Society for the establishment and support of Native female schools. The thirteenth report, dated 1831, is now before me, from which it appears that there is one school in Calcutta, containing from 60 to 70 scholars; another at *Chitpore*, containing 110 to 120; and a third at *Shchpore*, in which 20 children of Native converts are instructed. The schools are superintended by a Committee of Ladies, and the teachers are Native women, formerly in some instances scholars. The girls are taught reading, spelling and geography, and much attention is given to religious instruction. In the *Chitpore* school writing is also taught, and in the *Shchpore* school six of the Christian girls have begun to learn English.

An examination of a number of Bengalee girls belonging to the school instituted by the above mentioned Society, on the occasion of a public examination of the Calcutta School Society's schools, attracted the attention of the last-mentioned Society to the subject of female schools, and in the report of 1820 it is stated that, although attempts to promote female education are highly approved, yet as members of an Association composed jointly of Natives and Europeans, the former cannot be expected to act all at once upon the suggestions of the latter, uniting against opposite sentiments of very long standing, and it was, therefore, determined that the time had not yet arrived for direct endeavors by the Society to establish Native girls' schools under female teachers. The British and Foreign School Society, however, in consultation with the Calcutta School Society's agent, Mr Harrington, and with Mr Ward of the Serampore Mission, both then in England, opened a subscription for the outfit of a mistress to be sent to India, qualified to instruct females born or bred in this country in the Lancasterian method of mutual instruction, that they might afterwards diffuse the system throughout the country as opportunities offered. Miss Cooke (now Mrs Wilson) accordingly arrived in November 1821, and as the funds of the Calcutta School Society were inadequate to her support, her services were engaged by the Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society, and in connection with that Committee she gradually extended her labors until she had, in 1824, twenty-four schools under her superintendence, attended on an average by 400 pupils. In that year the Corresponding Committee relinquished the entire management and direction of their female schools to a Committee of Ladies who formed themselves into a Society called the Ladies' Society for Native Female Education in Calcutta and its vicinity. Subsequently the number of schools was increased to 30, and that of the pupils to 600, but instead of still further multiplying the number of schools, it was deemed advisable to

concentrate them, and a Central School was built for that purpose and occupied in 1828, since which the efforts of the Ladies' Society have been chiefly confined to that sphere of labor. An allowance is made of a pice a head to women under the name of hirkarees, for collecting the children daily and bringing them to school, as no respectable Hindoo will allow his daughters to go into the street except under proper protection. The school numbers 320 day-scholars, besides 70 Christian girls who live on the premises. The latter are orphans, and most of them have been collected from the districts south of Calcutta that have recently suffered from inundation and famine. Together with these, 40 poor women have been admitted by Mrs. Wilson to a temporary asylum, who are all learning to read and receive daily Christian instruction, and are at the same time employed in various ways to earn in whole or in part their own living. In connection with the Ladies' Society, there is also a girls' school on the premises belonging to the Church Missionary Society in Calcutta. The number of pupils fluctuates between 50 and 70. Spelling, reading, writing, needle-work, and religion are the subjects in which instruction is given. Many of the scholars have become teachers. Native ladies of the most respectable caste in society have both sent their daughters, and in some instances have themselves expressed anxiety to obtain instruction. The system of instruction pursued is also stated to have met the express concurrence and approbation of some of the most distinguished among the Native gentry and religious instructors. The majority of the more respectable Natives, however, still continue to manifest great apathy concerning the education of their daughters.

The Ladies' Association for Native female education was originally instituted with a view to establish schools for Native girls, which could not be undertaken by the last-mentioned Society: This Association had at one time ten schools under its management, which, for the purpose of concentration, were reduced to two and afterwards to one! The school is conducted by a Christian master and mistress, with the assistance of an elderly Christian woman and three of the best scholars as monitors. The school is situated in the Circular Road, and has about 50 scholars, chiefly Manomadan, who receive Christian instruction in the Native language. About 30 of the girls read the various school-books, and 20 learn to spell, &c. The monthly expenditure is Rupees 40.

There are three schools connected with the London Missionary Society in Calcutta. In a school situated in the Thunthunnya Road there are 45 scholars; in the Creek Row school 25; and in the Mendee Bagan school 28; in all 108. In these schools the girls are taught reading, writing and arithmetic, besides plain needle-work and marking. In order to assist in supporting the schools, it is intended to receive plain work, to be charged at a very moderate rate.

It has already been mentioned that 70 orphans are lodged and educated in the Central School belonging to the Ladies' Society for Native Female Education; and it is now proposed to build a suitable separate establishment for the reception of one hundred Native orphan girls. It is intended that these children shall receive a good plain education both in their own and in the English language, be trained to habits of industry and usefulness, and remain in the institution until they marry. A public subscription has been opened, and it is contemplated to purchase ground on the bank of the river, four or five miles north of Calcutta, where land can be bought comparatively cheap.

## SECTION II.

### THE DISTRICT OF MIDNAPORE.

*Population.*—This district is in the province of Orissa, but it has been so long attached to Bengal that it may be considered a component part of the province. The language chiefly spoken is Bengalee intermixed in the west with the Ooria. The great bulk of the people live a sober, regular and domestic life, and are less litigious than the inhabitants of the neighboring district. In this district there is much jungle, and between the cultivated plains and the thick jungles are situated the villages of the Sontals, a mild and inoffensive but degraded race with whom the rest of the inhabitants refuse to associate. The Santals or Sontals are stated by Mr. Stirling to be a tribe of Coles. In the north-eastern quarter of this district the Choars, formidable banditti, long resisted the authority of Government and committed the most atrocious barbarities; but they are now effectually subdued. In 1801 the population was roughly estimated at 1,500,000, of whom one-seventh were supposed to be Mahomedans.

*Indigenous Elementary Schools.*—In every village there are schools for teaching the Bengalee language and accounts to children in poor circumstances; but no investigation into their number or condition appears to have been instituted. The teachers, though qualified for what they undertake, are persons in no way respectable, their rank in life being low, their emolument scanty, and sometimes their character publicly tainted without any injury to their interests. The children sit in the open air or under a shed and learn to read, write, and cast accounts, the charge for schooling being generally from one to two annas per month. In opulent Hindoo families teachers are retained as servants.

*Indigenous Schools of Learning.*—Hamilton states that in this district there are no schools where the Hindoo or Mahomedan laws are taught. There was formerly a Mahomedan college in the town of Midnapore, and even yet the establishment is said to exist, but no law is taught. Persian and Arabic are taught by mulavis who in general have a few scholars in their houses, whom



they support as well as instruct. These Persian and Arabic students, although of respectable families, are considered as living on charity; and they are total strangers to expense and dissipation. The alleged absence of schools of Hindoo learning in a population of which six-sevenths are said to be Hindoos is incredible, and is denied by learned Natives who have resided in the district and are personally acquainted with several schools of that description within its limits. They are not so numerous as the domestic schools of learning which prevail amongst the Mahomedan population; but they are not so few as to be wholly neglected. There are probably, I am told, about 40 in the district. It may be offered as a general remark to account for such incorrect statements, that the greater attention given by Europeans to the Mahomedan than to the Hindoo languages and literature, combined with the unobtrusive and retiring character of learned Hindoos, sometimes leads the public functionary to overlook institutions of Hindoo origin. It is probably from some such official authority that Hamilton has borrowed the statement to which I refer.

### SECTION III.

#### THE DISTRICT OF ORISSA PROPER OR CUTTACK

*Population.*—According to Mr. Stirling this province or district is divided into three regions, distinguished from each other by climate, general aspect, productions, and institutions. The first is the marshy woodland tract which extends along the sea-shore from the neighborhood of the black Pagoda to the Sabanrekha, varying in breadth from five miles to twenty. The second is the plain and open country between that tract and the hills, the breadth on the north being ten or fifteen miles and never exceeding forty or fifty. The third is the hill country. The first and third are the country occupied by the ancient feudal chieftains of Orissa, the second is that from which the indigenous sovereigns and the Moghul conquerors of the country derived the chief part of their land revenue, and which at present pays a rent to the British Government, whilst the two others yield tribute. The first and third divisions are said not to contain a single respectable village, and in the second or Orissa Proper, the only collections of houses that deserve the name of towns are Cuttack, Balasore and Jugginnauth. The Orissas of the plains are the most mild, quiet, inoffensive, and easily managed people in the Company's provinces, but they are deficient in manly spirit, ignorant and stupid, dissolute in their manners, and versed in the arts of low cunning dissimulation, and subterfuge. The inhabitants of the hills and of the jungles on the sea-shore are more shy, sullen, inhospitable, and

uncivilized, and their chiefs are grossly stupid, barbarous, debauched, tyrannical, and enslaved to the most grovelling superstition. The paks or landed militia of these districts combine, with the most profound barbarism and the blindest devotion to the will of their chiefs, a ferocity and unquietness of disposition which render them an important and formidable class of the population of the province.

• Exclusive of the regular Orissa population of the Brahmanical persuasion, there are three remarkable races inhabiting the hilly region, viz., the *Coles*, *Kuads*, and *Sours*. The *Coles* are divided into thirteen different tribes. Their original country is said to be Kolant Des, but they are in possession of parts of Chota Nagpore, Jaspur, Tymar, Patcura and Simbhoon, have made encroachments upon Mohurbung, and are found settled in the back parts of Nilgiri. They are a hardy and athletic race, black and ill-favored in their countenances, ignorant and savage, but their wooden houses are neat and comfortable, and they carry on a very extensive cultivation. They own none of the Hindoo divinities, but hold in high veneration the *sahayna* tree (*hyperanthura moranga*), paddy, oil expressed from the mustard seed, and the dog. The *Kuads* are found in great numbers in all the hill estates south of the Mahanadi. They are small in stature and are so wild that every attempt made to civilize them has proved ineffectual. The *Sours* are found chiefly in the jungles of Khurda. They are in general a harmless and peaceable race, but so entirely destitute of all moral sense, that at the orders of a chief, or for the most trifling remuneration, they will as readily and unscrupulously deprive a human being of life as any wild beast of the woods. In ordinary times they clear the woods and provide fuel for the zemindars and villagers. They also collect the produce of the woods for sale to druggists and fruiterers. They are of small stature, mean appearance, and jet black color, and always carry in their hand an axe for cutting wood, the symbol of their profession. Some are fixed in small villages, and others lead a migratory life. They worship stumps of trees, masses of stone or clefts in rock. Their language little resembles that spoken by the Orissas, the latter being like the Bengalee, a tolerably pure dialect of the Sanscrit.

This view of the different classes of the population of Orissa would seem to justify the inference that there is no district of those whose condition I am now examining, that more needs both the elevating and restraining moral influences of education. •

Orissa Proper, or the second of the three divisions above mentioned, contains 11,915 villages and 243,273 houses, exclusive of the towns of Cuttack, Balasore, and Puri, an enumeration which yields an average of about twenty houses to a village. Mr. Stirling, from whom the above is prepared with much care and accuracy, infer-

that an average rate of five persons per house would not be too high. The entire population is thus made to stand as follows:—

Village inhabitants (243,273 × 5)...	1,216,365
Population of the town of Cuttack...	40,000
"          of Puri ...	30,000
"          of Balasore...	10,000
Total ...	<u>1,296,365</u>

Of this number not more than an eightieth part would appear to be Musalmans, foreigners, and casual residents, and Mr. Stirling, adopting the average suggested by the returns most to be relied on, estimates the number of children under ten years at about one-third of the whole population.

*Indigenous Schools.*—Mr. Stirling, in the elaborate account of this district, from which the preceding details are abridged, gives no information whatever on the state of education as conducted by Natives, either in elementary schools or schools of learning. In the description of the town of *Puri Jugunnath*, it is stated that "the principal street is composed almost entirely of the religious establishments called *maths*," a name applied in other parts of the country, both in the west and south, to convents of ascetics in which the various branches of Hindoo learning are taught. It may be inferred that they are applied to the same use in Jugunnauth Puri.

In November 1814, the Collector of Cuttack submitted to the Governor General in Council several documents, relative to a claim set up by Maulavi Abdul Karim to a pension or payment of one rupee per diem, which had been allowed by the former Government for the support of a madrasa in the village of Burbah, near Futtaspore, in the *Mahratta* Pergunnahs of Hidgelee. After a careful examination of the documents, the claim appearing to be valid, the Government authorised the payment of the pension with arrears. This allowance has since been paid annually, Sa. Rupees 365; but I have not been able to learn any thing of the madrasa for the support of which the grant is made.

The only other reference I have observed, connected with education in this district, is in the answer made by the local agents to Government to the inquiries of the General Committee of Public Instruction in 1824, to the effect that they knew of no endowments or funds applicable to the object of public education in the district.

*Elementary Schools not Indigenous.*—The Missionaries of the General Baptist Missionary Society have, under their superintendence, twelve elementary schools, supported partly by that Missionary Society, and partly by benevolent individuals, friends of education. In these schools about 219 children are taught their Native language, principally by reading the Christian scriptures

and religious tracts that have been translated into Ooria. The Missionaries have begun to employ masters capable of understanding the English alphabet, but still retaining the Native method of teaching by writing upon the floor when learning the letters, and thus preparing the scholars for reading books and for writing on paper or the palm-leaf. These schools are scattered over the town of Cuttack and neighborhood; and there is also another school at Bhyreepore near Cuttack, which is attended by most of the children in the village, but the number of scholars attending this school is not stated by my informant, who is himself the superintendent of the schools.

## SECTION IV.

### THE DISTRICT OF HUGLY.

*Population.*—This district is comparatively of recent creation, being composed of sections from Burdwan, Midnapore, and other adjacent districts. A large proportion of the surface of this district is still in a state of nature. Gang-robbery and river-piracy were at a comparatively recent period prevalent in it, and the number of widows who sacrificed themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands was here always remarkably great. The inhabitants have the repute of being better acquainted with the existing laws of the country than those of most other districts. In 1801, the total number of inhabitants was estimated at 1,000,000, in the proportion of three Hindoos to one Mahomedan.

*Indigenous Elementary Schools.*—On the state of Native education in this district I derive many details from the records of the General Committee of Public Instruction, in some respects confirming and in others modifying the general view already given of the system of indigenous schools, both elementary and learned.

The indigenous elementary schools amongst Hindoos in this district are numerous, and they are divisible into two classes; *first*, those which derive their principal support from the patronage of a single wealthy family; and *secondly*, those which are destitute of such special patronage, and are dependent upon the general support of the Native community in the town or village in which they are established. The former are the most numerous, there being scarcely a village without one or more of them. The primary object is the education of the children of the opulent Hindoos by whom they are chiefly supported; but as the teacher seldom receives more than three rupees a month from that source, he is allowed to collect from the neighborhood as many additional pupils as he can obtain or conveniently manage. These pay him at the rate of two to eight annas per month, in addition to which each pupil gives him such a quantity of rice, pulse, oil, salt, and vegetables at the end of each month as will suffice for one day's

maintenance. Sometimes the teacher, in addition to the salary he receives, is fed and clothed by his patron. Such schools have seldom any house built or exclusively appropriated for the use of the teacher and his pupils. The second class of schools is not so numerous as the former, but they afford a better maintenance to the teacher. In general the pupils pay him from four to eight annas per month while they write upon leaves, and from eight annas to one rupee, according to their means, when they write upon paper; in addition to which he also receives one day's maintenance per month from each pupil. Another perquisite of the teacher is a piece of cloth from each scholar on promotion to a higher class, but this is not one of the conditions of admission, and depends upon the liberality of the parents. The number of scholars in each school of either description averages 30, some schools in populous towns having more, and others in small villages having less. The teachers are either Brahmans or Sudras. If the former are respectable and learned, they gain a comfortable subsistence; but the majority of them do not take sufficient pains to write a neat hand, and they have in general only a superficial acquaintance with arithmetic and accounts. Books are not in use in this class of elementary schools. The instruction comprises writing on the palm-leaf and on Bengalee paper, and arithmetic. As soon as the scholar is able to write a tolerable hand and has acquired some knowledge of accounts, he in general leaves school. In this district they enter school usually at the age of six and remain four or five years.

The indigenous elementary schools amongst Musalmans are for the most part private places of instruction to which a few select pupils are admitted, and the teachers being either in independent circumstances or in the employment of Government, give their instructions gratuitously. Admission is often refused and is always obtained with difficulty, and the instruction given to the favored candidates is very imperfect and desultory. At *Pandua*, a place formerly of some celebrity in the district, it is said to have been the practice of the Musalman land proprietors to entertain teachers at their own private cost for the benefit of the children of the poor in their neighborhood, and it was a rare thing to find an opulent farmer or head of a village who had not a teacher in his employment for that purpose. That class, however, is alleged to have dwindled away and scarcely any such schools are now found to exist.

*Indigenous Schools of Learning.*—The number of Hindoo schools of learning in this district is considerable. Mr. Ward in 1818 stated that at *Fansrariya*, a village not far from the town of Hugly, there were twelve or fourteen colleges, in all of which logic was almost exclusively studied. There were then also seven or eight in the town of *Triveni*, one of which had been lately taught by Jugannath Tacka Panchanan, supposed to be the most

learned as well as the oldest man in Bengal, being 109 years old at the time of his death. He was acquainted in some measure with the *veda*, and is said to have studied the *vedanta*, the *sankhya*, the *patanjala*, the *nyaya*, the *smriti*, the *tantra*, *kavya*, the *poornas* and other *shastras*. Mr. Ward also mentions that *Gundulpara* and *Bhudreshwuru* contained each about ten *nyaya* schools, and *Valee* two or three,—all villages in this district. Hamilton states that in 1801 there were altogether about 150 private schools in which the principles of Hindoo law were taught by Pundits, each school containing from five to twenty scholars. There is no reason to suppose that the number of schools is now less, and the enquiries made in 1824 showed that there were some schools with thirty scholars. According to the reputation of the teacher is the number of the students, and in proportion to the number of the students is the number of invitations and the liberality of the gifts which the teacher receives on the occasion of the performance of important religious ceremonies in Hindoo families. The number of students has thus a double pecuniary operation. As they always derive a part of their subsistence from the teacher, they are a burden upon his means; and by the increased reputation which they confer upon him, they enable him to support that burden. Sometimes, however, students capable of living on their own means return home after school hours; and in other instances, the more wealthy inhabitants of the town or village are found to contribute towards the support of poor students whom the teacher cannot maintain. The first three or four years are occupied in the study of Sanscrit grammar, and the next six or eight years in the study of law and logic, with which the generality of students finish their education, and are thenceforth classed among learned men, receiving from the teacher when they are leaving him an honorary title which they retain for life.

There are few Mahomedan schools of learning in this district. Omitting reference to that at Hugly, supported by the endowment of Haji Mohammed Mohsin, under the orders of the Board of Revenue, and about to be extended and improved under the superintendence of the General Committee of Public Instruction, I find mention made of only one other existing at *Seetapore*, a populous town, situated 22 miles in the interior of the district. It was originally supported by a grant of five rupees eight annas per diem, made by the English Government in consideration of the faithful services of Umsih-ood-din the founder. After his death, and in consequence of divisions among the surviving members of his family, who it seems had claim to a part of the grant for their maintenance, it was limited to Rupees 50 per month, which, as far as my information extends, it continues to derive from Government to the present day. According to Hamilton, in 1801, this college had 30 students who were instructed in Persian and Arabic, and according to the report made to the General

Committee in 1824, it had 25 students who were taught only Persian. This institution does not appear ever to have come under the supervision of the Committee or of any public officer. The report of 1824 further alleges the existence of certain lands at *Pundua* in this district, which should be appropriated to the support of madrasas, but which have been diverted from that purpose. It is stated to be a well known fact that grants were made to the ancestors of the late Mola Mir Gholam Hyder Mutawali, attached to the shrine of Shah Sufi-ud-din Khan Shuhid at *Pundua*, together with Mola Myn-ud-din or Mola Taj-ud-din and Mir Gholam Mustafa, private persons who had no share in the superintendence. The grants are said to have specified certain villages or tracts of land to be exclusively appropriated to the support of three madrasas, in addition to those granted for the personal benefit of the grantees. The madrasas were kept up for a generation or two, but through carelessness or avarice were afterwards discontinued. It is added that there were persons then living so well acquainted with the circumstances as to be able to point out the estates that were specified in the grants for the support of the madrasas. The Collector, in the letter enclosing the report, intimated his intention to investigate the matter, and in the event of the alleged misappropriation being substantiated, to pursue the course directed in Regulation XIX. of 1810. The result of the enquiry I have not been able to learn.

*Elementary Schools not Indigenous.*—Mr. Robert May, a Christian Missionary, in 1811, established a school in Chinsura on the Lancasterian plan patronised by Mr. Gordon Forbes, the British Commissioner at *Chinsura*; and in 1814-15 he established other schools in and about the settlement of Chinsura to the number of sixteen, with an average attendance of 951 scholars. In the last mentioned year these schools were brought to the favorable notice of Government, and a monthly allowance of 600 Rupees, afterwards increased to 800, was granted to enable Mr. May to support and extend the system he had introduced. In 1818, when he died, he had thirty-six schools under his superintendence, attended by above 3,000 Natives, both Hindoos and Mahomedans. In the account of these schools during Mr. May's management, it is stated that in 1816 he established a school for teachers, but in 1817 the attempt to rear teachers was abandoned altogether, as it was found that few or none of the boys were able or disposed to discharge the duties of instructors when required. Towards the end of the year 1815, Mr. May's schools excited a rivalry among the Natives, some of whom are said to have formed similar establishments without impeding the success of those conducted by Mr. May. All the opposition that the schools received arose, not from feelings of general repugnance, but of individual interest. The old school-masters finding

that they could not hope to prosper while the villagers could get their boys instructed without cost in the Company's schools, were very excusably hostile to the new establishments and endeavored to obstruct or prevent them. Thus, in the only instance in which a school was violently broken up, it was done by the zemindar at the instigation of the old teacher. Mr. May at one time contemplated the probability that, when the Natives were fully convinced of the utility of the plan of education which he had established, some means might be adopted whereby every village might entirely, or at least partly, support its own school. No attempt, however, certainly no successful attempt of this kind, appears to have been made. It is doubtful also whether the rivalry which is alleged to have been excited among the Natives led to the formation of schools similar to those of Mr. May, for I find it expressly stated in a report on the Chinsura schools made in 1823, that the only independent school that had grown out of the Chinsura schools was one founded by the Rajah of Burdwan and placed under the control of Mr. May's successor. After Mr. May's death the number of schools and scholars was reduced, but subsequently in 1821-22, in the reduced number of schools nearly an equal number of scholars attended. In 1824 the Chinsura schools were placed under the superintendence of the General Committee, when they were again apparently in a declining state, in consequence of which some of the members of the Committee in 1827 expressed doubts as to the utility and expediency of maintaining them. They were, however, continued some time longer, but have recently been entirely abandoned by the General Committee. An offer was made to the Calcutta Diocesan Committee of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to transfer the buildings and existing materials of such of the schools as that Committee should agree to continue, and an occasional supply of books being also guaranteed by the Committee of Public Instruction, it has been judged advisable by the Diocesan Committee to undertake the maintenance of the six most central among them, which appear most eligible from their locality and the numbers in attendance. The advantages resulting from the Chinsura schools do not appear to be highly estimated. The system adopted was in principle the Native one, the practice being modified according to that of Dr. Bell. The difference between Mr. May's system and that of the Native schools is stated to be that in the latter the boys are taught chiefly by the ear, and in the former they were taught more by the eye. The number of boys under one teacher amounted in some cases to 120, and in all he was assisted by the monitors, the ablest boys being employed to teach the rest. The teachers at first received five rupees for 40 scholars and one rupee for every 20 more; and afterwards they were, all allowed one rupee for every 10 scholars or ten rupees for 100, which equaled



the amount usually gained by independent school-masters who receive from ten to twenty rupees a month for 100 or 150 boys. One case is mentioned where the teacher earned from thirty to forty rupees a month, his school containing 300 boys. In 1817, the practice was adopted of attaching a Pundit as a superintendent to every three schools, and they were all under one head Pundit. The introduction of printed books of an entertaining and instructive kind and the possible generation of some small taste for reading, seem to be the chief benefits that can have resulted from the establishment of the Chinsura schools. The system of instruction in the six schools retained by the Diocesan Committee will probably be the same as that pursued in the other schools already noticed of the same Committee.

A School Society exists at Chinsura, apparently in connection with the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society, whose report states that there are three schools for boys at that place having about 300 scholars in attendance. The progress of the boys is said to be very pleasing, but I have not met with any other details respecting them, as the Chinsura School Society does not appear to publish separate reports of its proceedings.

*Native Female Schools.*—The first attempt in Bengal, and I suppose in India, to instruct Native girls in an organised school was made by Mr. May in this district in 1818. In that year he opened a girls' school, I believe, at Chinsura, but it offered so little prospect of success, that its continuance was discountenanced by Government.

There appears to have been formerly a Bengalee female school at Hugly, which has recently been removed to Chinsura. The number in attendance is from 21 to 25, and it is said to afford more encouragement to perseverance than any female school previously established at that station. This probably refers to the unsuccessful attempt in 1818 by Mr. May. The expense of the present school is said to be considerable, but it cannot be reduced without injury to its efficiency. Perfect confidence is not expressed as to the result. Time only, it is said, will prove whether the benefit will eventually be adequate to the sacrifice. This school appears to be in connection with the Chinsura School Society, and thereby with the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society.

Native female schools were begun by the *Serampore* Missionaries at that settlement in 1823, and there are now two in operation, one called the central school containing 138 girls, and a second called the Christian village school containing 14. After being able to read, the children are exercised in the catechism and in writing on palm-leaves, and read the child's first book, conversations between a mother and daughter, the history of the Bible, and *Æsop's fables* in Bengalee. They are next taught to write in copy-books, and read the New and Old Testaments, the Indian youth's magazine and Pearson's geography. They are also made

familiar with the tables of Bengalee arithmetic. Nothing is learned by rote. Recently young Christian widows, who were themselves educated in the Missionary schools, have been employed as teachers. More than half the girls of the central school are composed of very young children, affording excellent materials for an infant school.

## SECTION V.

### THE DISTRICT OF BURDWAN.

*Population.*—Burdwan, in proportion to its extent, is considered the most productive and populous territory of India. It is surrounded by the jungles of Midnapore, Pachete, and Birbhoom, appearing like a garden in a wilderness. In the year 1813-14, Mr. Bayley, then Judge and Magistrate of Burdwan, endeavored to ascertain the exact number of inhabitants within his jurisdiction. His first object was to obtain returns of the population of numerous villages and towns situated in the western parts of Bengal, with a view of ascertaining the general average proportion of inhabitants to a dwelling, and from the returns of ninety-eight towns and villages, situated in various parts of the districts of Burdwan, Hugly, Midnapore, Birbhoom, and Jungle Mehals, an average was deduced of five and a half inhabitants to a house. Mr. Bayley next proceeded to ascertain the actual number of dwelling-houses in the district of Burdwan, distinguishing them as occupied by Hindoos and Mahomedans respectively; and the result was that the district contained 262,634 dwelling-houses, of which 218,853 were occupied by Hindoos, and 43,781 by Mahomedans. Allowing five and a half inhabitants to each dwelling, the total population was thus estimated at 1,441,487 persons, of whom the proportion of Hindoos to Mahomedans is as five of the former to one of the latter. Another statement exhibited the total Hindoo population of 26 villages in the district of Burdwan amounting to 40,238, of whom 7,382 males were below sixteen years of age, and 5,208 females were below twelve years of age. Part of the district of Jungle Mehals has recently been united to that of Burdwan, but the population of the former district, which was formed in modern times by sections from the districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, Ramghur, &c., does not appear to have been even conjecturally estimated.

*Indigenous Elementary Schools.*—Mr. Bayley did not extend his enquiries to the state of education, but Hamilton states that there are few villages in this district in which there is not a school where children are taught to read and write; and that the children of Mahomedan parents receive their education in the common branches from the village school-masters. No detailed account is given of the system of village-schools, but there is no doubt that it is substantially the same as that which has already been described.

*Elementary Schools not Indigenous.*—Under the superintendence of the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, there were in 1834 nine schools, five of which were supported by the Society, and four by the subscriptions of residents at the station of Burdwan, who contribute rupees sixty monthly for this object. In these schools there were 754 boys receiving daily instruction, half of whom read the scriptures, Pearson's geography, catechisms, bible history, &c. The Natives in the vicinity of Burdwan are said to be fully convinced of the beneficial effects of these schools, and to show a great desire every where to have them established for their children. In several instances the chief men in the village have offered to build a school-house.

At *Bancoora*, in connection with the same Society, there were seven schools, but in consequence of the departure of the gentlemen in the Civil Service, occasioned by the junction of the Jungle Mehals to the district of Burdwan, the subscriptions in behalf of the schools were mostly withdrawn, and three schools were necessarily discontinued. A new subscription has been opened, and four schools, with about 350 children, are kept up under the care of a catechist. The gospels and other useful books are read and geography is taught. Petitions are stated to have been presented by the inhabitants of some of the neighboring villages, begging that new schools might be established among them.

At *Culna* is a circle of schools in an improving state, also under the superintendence of a Missionary of the same Society. In 1834, the number of boys was greater than was reported the preceding year, but the actual number is not mentioned in the report before me. More than half of the boys are conversant with the scriptures. One of the schools at this station kept on the premises of a respectable Brahman, is stated to have generally in attendance from 90 to 100 boys daily.

There is also an elementary school for Native boys, or a circle of such schools, at *Cutwa* in connection with the Baptist Missionary Society, but I have not met with any detailed account of them.

*Indigenous Schools of Learning.*—Hamilton says that in this district there are no regular schools for instruction in the Hindoo or Mahomedan law, and that the most learned professors of the former are procured from the district of Nuddea on the opposite side of the Hugly. The same remark may be applied to this statement that has already been made with reference to the state of learning in Midnapore. All that can be fairly understood from it is not that there are no Native schools of learning in the district, but that there were none known to the writer, or to the public officer on whose authority the author relied. It is exceedingly improbable, from the analogy of other districts, that there are not some of these domestic schools of Mahomedan learning already described, and still more improbable that in a population of which five-sixths are Hindoos, there should not be a still greater number of schools of Hindoo learning.

The following references to institutions of learning in this district were extracted from the proceedings of the Board of Revenue at Calcutta, and first published in the memoir prepared at the India House, which I have mentioned as one of my authorities :—

In September 1818, the Collector of Burdwan was required to report upon a pension of rupees 60 per annum, claimed by Rambullubh Bhattacharyya, for the support of a religious institution and seminary. The Collector deputed his ameen to the spot, to enquire whether the institution on which the pension was claimed was still maintained. The ameen reported that the institution appeared to be kept up, that the number of scholars generally entertained was about five or six, and that the allowance had been sanctioned by the Government during the joint lives of Rambullubh Bhattacharyya and his deceased brother. Under these circumstances, the Revenue Board considered the claimant entitled to the full amount of the pension during his life, or as long as he should continue to appropriate it faithfully to the purposes for which it was originally granted. They accordingly authorized the future payment of this pension to Rambullubh Bhattacharyya, and the discharge of all arrears which had accrued subsequently to the decease of the claimant's brother.

In March 1819, the Collector of Burdwan applied to the Revenue Board for instructions respecting certain payments to a musjid and madrasa in the district, respecting which a suit had been instituted in the Calcutta Court of Appeal, and the question ordered by that Court to be determined by the Collector under Regulation XIX. of 1810. The establishment in question was in the hands of Mussil-ud-deen, who was called upon to produce his accounts, which he appears not to have done satisfactorily. The Collector, therefore, sent his ameen to the place to ascertain to what extent the establishment was kept up. That officer reported favorably of the establishment on the authority of the inhabitants of the village in which the madrasa was situated, but without any documents to corroborate his statements. Under these circumstances, the Revenue Board desired the Collector to take an opportunity of visiting the spot, in order that he might himself ascertain the grounds on which a decision might be come to. Nothing further appears relating to this madrasa.

In July 1823, the Revenue Board reported an endowment for a College in Burdwan of 254 sicca rupees per annum, which was communicated to the General Committee of Public Instruction.

*Native Female Schools.*—The European ladies at Burdwan, in connection with the Calcutta Ladies' Society, support a school which has from 60 to 80 girls in attendance. The Superintendent is an able teacher who had been employed in the Calcutta Central School, and besides her there are three sircars and three monitors.

employed with the different classes. The instruction appears to be exclusively religious. The progress of the children is slow and the attendance irregular.

There was a girls' school at *Bancoora*, which, in consequence of the removal of all its supporters from the station, has been discontinued.

At *Culna* there is a girls' school attended by 51 scholars. The instruction is of the same character as in the school at *Burdwan*.

At *Cutwa*, in connection with the Calcutta Baptist Female School Society, there is a girls' school with about 30 scholars who, after learning the alphabet, &c., are instructed to write, commit to memory different catechisms and portions of scriptures, and read the gospels, parables, history of Joseph, geography, &c., &c. The attendance is very irregular.

## SECTION VI.

### THE DISTRICT OF JESSORE.

*Population.*—In 1801, the district was estimated to contain 1,200,000 inhabitants, in the proportion of nine Mahomedans to seven Hindoos. The southern portion of this district is in the *Soonderbuns*, and is composed of salt marshy islands, formed by the alluvium and successive changes of the channels of the Ganges, and covered with wood.

*Indigenous Schools.*—I have met with no reference to indigenous schools, either elementary or learned, in this district, but it is beyond all question that the number of both amongst Hindoos and Musulmans is considerable. This district is a perfect and entire blank in as far as information regarding the state of indigenous education is concerned.

*Elementary Schools not Indigenous.*—The Serampore Missionaries have four schools in connection, with their mission in this district; one at *Neelgunge*, attended by about 25 boys; a second at *Sahibgunge*, the sudder station, attended by 14; a third at *Poolaghat*, attended by 20; and a fourth at *Bhurasapore*, a Christian village, attended by 12 Christian children; in all 63 scholars. These schools do not prosper owing to the prevalence of sickness and death among the children. A few boys, from twelve to sixteen years of age, read Christian books and improve in Christian knowledge.

In the ninth report of the Serampore College (1830) mention is made of certain endowed schools in Jessore, of which I find no detailed account in that or in any other publication. They are stated to have been carried forward in nearly the same manner as in the preceding year; and the late Judge of the district, after examining them, expressed his satisfaction with the progress they had made.

## SECTION VII.

## THE DISTRICT OF NUDDEA.

*Population.*—In 1802, the Collector reported that, in the district of Nuddea, there were then 5,749 hamlets and villages supposed to contain 127,405 houses, which at six persons to a house would give 764,430 inhabitants, of which number he supposed 286,661 were Mahomedans, but, from the returns of other districts since made with increased accuracy, it is probable that the above sum total is much under the real amount. Since that date also the district appears to have received a considerable accession of territory.

*Indigenous Elementary Schools.*—In none of the authorities or publications to which I have the means of referring, do I find the slightest reference to indigenous elementary schools in this district, although no doubt can be entertained of the existence of such institutions in considerable numbers in this as well as in other districts of Bengal.

*Elementary Schools not Indigenous.*—The Missionary of the Church Missionary Society at Kishnaaghur has the charge of three schools at that station and six at Nuddea. There are about 500 boys in attendance, and several of them have made considerable progress in the knowledge of the books they are reading. At the suggestion of the Missionaries of this Society, several Indigo Planters have been induced to establish schools near their factories.

*Indigenous Schools of Learning.*—The town of Nuddea was the capital of Hindoo principality anterior to the Mahomedan conquest, and in more recent times it has been a seat of Brahmanical learning. Hamilton remarks that, as a seat of learning, it must have apparently declined to a very obscure condition, as in 1801 the Judge and Magistrate, in reply to the Marquis Wellesley's queries, declared that he knew not of any seminaries within the district in which either the Hindoo or Mahomedan law was then taught. This statement curiously contrasts with the following details, and affords another illustration of a remark already made, that the educational institutions of the Hindoos have sometimes been most strangely overlooked.

The celebrity of Nuddea as a school of Hindoo learning is wholly unconnected with any notion of peculiar sanctity as in the case of Benares. Its character as a university was probably connected with the political importance which belong to it about the time of the Mahomedan invasion, as it seems to have been for a time the capital of Bengal. The princes of Bengal and the latter rajahs of Nuddea endowed certain teachers with lands for the instruction and maintenance of scholars, and the support thus given to pundits and pupils attracted a number of Brahmans to settle there, and gave a reputation to the district. The loss of all political consequence and the alleged resumption of most of the

endowments have very much diminished the attraction of the site, but it still continues a place of learning and extensive repute.

In 1811, Lord Minto, then Governor General, proposed to establish a Hindoo college at Nuddea and another in Tirhoot, and set apart funds for that purpose. The design, however, was finally abandoned in favor of that of forming a similar institution on a larger scale, the present Sanskrit College in Calcutta. In the course of the correspondence which took place between Government and the Committee of Superintendence provisionally appointed for the proposed college at Nuddea, the Committee stated, under date 9th July 1816, that there were then in Nuddea 46 schools kept and supported by the most learned and respectable pundits of the place, who invariably taught at their houses or in the *toles* attached to them, where the pupils were all lodged partly at their own expense and partly at the expense of their preceptors. The total number of pupils who were at that time so circumstanced amounted to about 380; their ages averaging between 25 and 35 years. Few, it was observed, commenced their studies until they had attained the age of 21 years, and they often pursued them for 15 years, when, having acquired a perfect knowledge of the shastra and all its areana, they returned to their native homes and set up as pundits and teachers themselves.

In 1818, Mr Ward enumerated 31 schools of learning at Nuddea, containing in all 747 students, of whom not fewer than five studied under one teacher. So many as one hundred and twenty-five students are stated to have been receiving the instructions of one teacher at the same time, but the accuracy of Mr. Ward's information in this particular may be doubted. The principal studies were logic and law, and there was only one school for general literature, one for astronomy, and one for grammar. The following are the details in Mr. Ward's words:—

*"Nyaya Colleges.*—Shivu-Nat'hu-Vidya-Vachusputee has one hundred and twenty-five students. Ramu-Lochanu-Nyayu-Vhoshanu, twenty ditto. Kashee-Nat'hu Turku-Chooramunee, thirty ditto. Ubhayanudu-Turkalunkaru, twenty ditto. Ramu-Shurunu-Nyayu-Vageeshu, fifteen ditto. Bhola-Nat'hu-Shiromunee, twelve ditto. Radha-Nat'hu-Turku-Panchanunu, ten ditto. Ramu-Mohunu-Vidya-Vachusputee, twenty ditto. Shri-Ramu-Turku-Bhooshanu, twenty ditto. Kalee-Kantu-Chooramunee, five ditto. Krishnu-Kantu-Vidya-Vageeshu, fifteen ditto. Turkalunkaru, fifteen ditto. Kalee-Prasunu, fifteen ditto. Madhabu-Turku-Siddhantu twenty-five ditto. Kumula-Kantu-Turku-Chooramunee, twenty-five ditto. Beshwuru-Turku-Bhooshanu, twenty ditto. Kantu-Vidyalunkaru, forty ditto.

*Law Colleges.*—Ramu-Nat'hu-Turku-Siddhantu, forty students. Gunga-Dhuru-Shiromunee, twenty-five ditto. Devue-Turkalunkaru, twenty-five ditto. Mohunu-Vidya-Vachusputee, twenty ditto. Gangolee-Turkalunkaru, ten ditto. Krishnu-Turku-Bhooshanu, twenty ditto.

shuna, ten ditto. Pranu Krishnu-Turku-Vageeshu, five ditto. Poorohitu, five ditto. Kashee-Kantu-Turku-Chooramunee, thirty ditto. Kalee-Kantu-Turku-Punchanunu, twenty ditto. Guda-dhura-Turku-Vageeshu, twenty ditto.

*Colleges where the Poetical Works are read.*—Kalee-Kantu-Turku-Chooramunee, fifty students.

*Where the Astronomical Works are read.*—Gooroo-Prusadu-Siddhantu-Vageeshu, fifty students.

*Where the Grammar is read.*—Shumboo-Nat'hu-Chooramunee, five students.

In 1821, the junior Member and Secretary of the General Committee of Public Instruction, H. H. Wilson, Esquire, in prosecuting a special investigation on which he was deputed, collected at the same time some general information respecting the state of learning at Nuddea. At that period Nuddea contained about twenty-five establishments for study. These are called *tolas*, and consist of a thatched chamber for the pundit and the class, and two or three ranges of mud-hovels in which the students reside. The pundit does not live on the spot, but comes to the *tol* every day on which study is lawful at an early hour and remains till sunset. The huts are built and kept in repair at his expense, and he not only gives instructions gratuitously, but assists to feed and clothe his class, his means of so doing being derived from former grants by the rajah of Nuddea, and presents made to him by the zemindars in the neighborhood at religious festivals, the value of which much depends on his celebrity as a teacher. The students are all full-grown men, some of them old men. The usual number in a *tol* is about twenty or twenty-five, but in some places, where the pundit is of high repute, there are from fifty to sixty. The whole number is said to be between 500 and 600. The greater proportion consists of Natives of Bengal, but there are many from remote parts of India, especially from the south. There are some from Nepaul and Assam, and many from the eastern districts, especially Tirhoot. Few if any have means of subsistence of their own. Their dwelling they obtain from their teacher, and their clothes and food in presents from him and the shop-keepers and landholders in the town or neighborhood. At the principal festivals, they disperse for a few days in quest of alms, when they collect enough to sustain them till the next interval of leisure. The chief study at Nuddea is *nyaya* or logic, there are also some establishments for tuition in law, chiefly in the works of Raghunandana, a celebrated Nuddea pundit, and in one or two places grammar is taught. Some of the students, particularly several from the Dekhin, speak Sanskrit with great fluency and correctness.

The account by Mr. Wilson is the latest and probably the most correct of the state of learning at Nuddea. The variations in the number of colleges and students at the different periods are deserving of attention. According to the respective authorities



there were in 1816 forty-six schools and 380 students; in 1818 thirty-one schools and 747 students; and in 1829 twenty-five schools, containing from 5 to 600 students. It would thus appear that, within the last twenty years, the number of schools has diminished, and the number of scholars has upon the whole increased. This would seem to support the inference that there is now, in the class from which students are drawn, an increased disposition to study Hindoo learning, accompanied by diminished ability or inclination in the class by which the colleges are principally supported, to incur the expense of encouraging new *tols* proportioned to the increased number of students.

Several of those schools of Hindoo learning in Nuddea are supported or aided by small annual allowances from the British Government. Thus in 1813, Ramechandra Vidyalkankara who enjoyed an annual allowance of Rupees 71, in consideration of his keeping up a *chaupari* or seminary, died. Application was shortly afterwards made to the Collector of the district, and by him referred to the Revenue Board, for the assignment of his allowance to a native who claimed it as the heir of Ramechandra Vidyalkankara, but the proofs of his right of succession or qualifications not being satisfactory, it was not granted to him. In 1818, Balanath Siromani preferred a claim to this allowance as the son of Ramechandra Vidyalkankara and his successor in the *chaupari*. On reference of this claim to the Revenue Board, the Collector was ordered to ascertain whether Balanath Siromani did actually keep a seminary in Nuddea; and it appearing on enquiry that he kept a *chaupari*, in which he educated eight pupils in the *tarka* or *nyayu shastra*, the Government determined in June 1820 that the pension of Rupees 71 should be continued to him and the arrears paid up.

In June 1818, application was made to the Revenue Board through the Collector of Nuddea, on behalf of Sivnath Vidya-Vachaspati, for a pension or allowance of Rupees 90 per annum, which had been enjoyed by his father Sukra Tarkavagis, in consideration of his maintaining a seminary in Nuddea. The Board ordered the continuance of the pension and the payment of arrears.

In November 1819, an application was made through the Collector of Nuddea to the Board of Revenue, on behalf of Sriram Siromani, for a pension or allowance of Rupees 36 per annum, in consideration of his keeping up a *chaupari* or seminary at Nuddea, which had been founded and endowed by the rajah of Nattore. It was in this case also ascertained that Sriram Siromani did keep up the seminary in which there were three pupils, and the allowance together with the arrears was accordingly ordered to be paid to him.

A similar decision was passed in 1819 in favor of Ramjaya Tarkabangka, confirming to him an annual allowance of rupees 62, in consideration of his continuing to maintain a seminary in Nuddea in which he educated five pupils.

In 1823, it was represented to the Board of Revenue that a Native College existed in the town of Nuddea in which Ramchandra Tarkavagis taught the puranas, on account of which he petitioned for the annual pension or allowance from Government of sicca rupees 24, which had been enjoyed by his father while resident in Rajshahy, and which he solicited might be continued to him in Nuddea. The Revenue Board directed their nazir to make enquiry as to the facts stated, and to report the result. He accordingly reported that Ramchandra Tarkavagis did keep a seminary in the town of Nuddea in which he maintained and instructed in the shastras 31 students, of whose names a list was delivered in, and that he had done so for nine years then last past. Under these circumstances, the Board recommended and the Government determined that the pension should be continued to Ramchandra Tarkavagis, and the arrears which had accrued since the death of his father be paid to him.

In 1829, the Committee of Public Instruction received orders to examine and report upon a petition to Government from certain students at Nuddea, claiming the restoration or continuance of an allowance amounting to 100 rupees per month. The Committee deputed their junior Member and Secretary, and ascertained that all those students who came from places more than three days' journey from Nuddea had hitherto depended very much upon this grant from Government which gave them from twelve annas to one rupee a month, and nearly sufficed to procure them food. The amount of the grant that reached the students was in fact but 90 rupees, 10 being set apart for some ceremony. The number of foreign students was generally between 100 and 150, and there were about the latter number at that time at Nuddea awaiting the result of their petition. If not complied with, they would have found it necessary to quit the place. Mr. Wilson made particular enquiry of the students with respect to the distribution of the allowance, and entire satisfaction was uniformly expressed on this subject. A petty suraf or podar accompanied by one of their number is deputed to receive the allowance at the Collector's Treasury. On his return he divides it among the foreign students whose presence in the town is perfectly well known. The podar, whom Mr. Wilson saw, keeps a shop for the sale of grain, and supplies the students with food, advancing them occasional maintenance on the credit of their monthly allowance. They are commonly in his debt, but he is too unimportant a personage, and the students are too numerous, and as Brahmans too influential, for him to practice any fraud upon them. The allowance, he has, no doubt, is fairly distributed; and although the value of the learning acquired at Nuddea may not be very highly estimated by Europeans, yet it is in great repute with the Natives, and its encouragement even by the trifling sum awarded is a gracious and popular measure. There can be no doubt of its being a very essential

benefit to those students who have no other fixed means of support. On Mr. Wilson's report it was determined to continue the allowance of rupees 100 per month to the petitioners.

Little is said by any of the authorities to which I have referred of the schools of learning in this district beyond the town of Nuddea; but there can be no doubt that such exist at *Santipore*, *Kishnaghur*, and other places within the district. Mr. Ward mentions transiently that, at *Koomaru Hutta* and *Bhatpara*, villages in this district, there are perhaps seven or eight such schools. At *Santipore* there was formerly a small Government endowment which appears to be at present in abeyance. In 1824, an application was made through the Collector of Nuddea to the Board of Revenue by Devi Prasad Nyayuvachaspati Bhattacharyya, as the brother of Kali Prasad Tarkasiddhanta Bhattacharyya, who had died in the preceding year, for an annual allowance or pension of sicca rupees 156-11-10, in consideration of his keeping a seminary in the town of Santipore. Enquiries were made as to the character of the deceased who is stated to have been a pundit of great ability, having when he died about 10 students under tuition. It also appeared by the evidence produced on the occasion that the brother and present claimant assisted the deceased in the tuition of his students who resided with him, and that they read the *dharma shastra* or works on law. The information thus produced not seeming to the Board of Revenue satisfactory, the Collector was directed to make further enquiries respecting the origin and the extent of the endowment and the service rendered, but his final report does not appear on the records.

I have already mentioned the nature of the report, made by the Judge and Magistrate of this district in 1801, that there were no seminaries within the district in which either the Hindoo or Mahomedan law was taught, and I have met with no direct evidence to establish the existence of any Mahomedan institutions. With a considerable proportion, however, of Mahomedan population it seems exceedingly improbable that they should be entirely destitute of such institutions of education as are found to exist in other districts.

*Native Female Schools.*—At Kishnaghur in 1831 the Calcutta Ladies' Society had Native female school at which forty girls of good family attended; and at Nuddea there was a similar school containing about forty scholars. But the schools at both these places were about to be abandoned from want of funds, no sufficient local aid being afforded them.

## SECTION VIII.

THE DISTRICT OF DACCA, JERAPPOOR, INCLUDING THE CITY OF DACCA.

*Population.*—In 1801, the total population of the district was computed at 938,712 inhabitants, one-half Hindoo and the other

half Mahomedan. A portion of this population consists of slaves, and the sale of persons in a state of slavery is common throughout the district. On these occasions regular deeds of sale are executed, some of which are registered in the Court of Justice; and when an estate to which slaves are attached is sold privately, the slaves are commonly sold at the same time, although a separate deed of sale is always executed. In the criminal calendars generally more Mahomedans than Hindoos are to be found, but in civil suits the latter form the majority. The Gaur or Bengalee language is spoken with the greatest purity in this district, but the men of rank becoming ashamed of their peculiar accent, endeavor, it is said, to imitate the less correct pronunciation of Calcutta, the modern metropolis.

A census of the population of the city of Dacca was made in 1830 by H. Walter, Esquire, Judge and Magistrate, and an abstract of the results was published in the *Gleanings of Science* for March 1831, vol. III., p. 84. According to Hamilton the population was estimated in 1801 by the Magistrate of that time at 200,000, in the proportion of 145 Mahomedans to 130 Hindoos; and Bishop Heber in 1823 supposed that it contained 90,000 houses and 300,000 inhabitants. The actual census shows a population of only 66,909 persons, of whom 31,429 were Hindoos and 35,238 Musalmans, the remaining 322 being Armenians, Greeks, Portuguese and French. Amongst the Native inhabitants the proportion of inhabitants to a house was  $1\frac{1}{2}$ . Of the males 10,024 and of the females 7,634 were under 16 years of age. It is considered that the population of Dacca must have fallen off very rapidly since the opening of the free trade, for the chowkeedaree tax when instituted in 1814 was levied upon 21,361 houses, and the amount collected at an average of two annas per house maintained nearly 800 police chowkeedars; whereas in 1830, the number of houses actually assessed amounted only to 10,708, and the number of chowkeedars maintained to 236. Hence in 16 years a diminution in the population of about one-half may be assumed. This falling off is mainly attributable to the gradual decrease of the manufacture of those beautiful cotton fabrics for which Dacca was once without a rival in the world. Coarse cotton piece goods still continue to be manufactured, though, from the extreme cheapness of English cloth, it is not improbable that the Native manufacture will ere long be altogether superseded.

*Indigenous Elementary Schools.*—Hamilton states that throughout this district there are many Hindoo schools in which the rudiments of the Bengalee language are taught. A public officer, in reply to the circular queries of the General Committee of Public Instruction, states that the only mode of instruction carried on by Natives is by means of domestic teachers employed by opulent Natives exclusively for their own families, but to whose instructions, as a favor, they admit a few of the children of their own domestics. It is added that a few of the middle ranks of society provide an

imperfect education for their children by contributing a supply of rice and other articles of consumption to a domestic teacher, from whose instructions the children of those neighbors are excluded who may either be unable or unwilling to afford their share. From these statements, and from the preceding account of the depressed state of the principal manufacture of district, it may be inferred that popular instruction is at a very low ebb.

*Elementary School not Indigenous*.—For more than eighteen years an extensive circle of schools has been maintained in a high state of efficiency in Dacca, under the superintendence of Missionary connected with the Serampore mission. For a considerable time the schools were supported by a local Society in correspondence with the Directors of the mission; but for some years past their expense has been met only in part by subscriptions in Dacca, and the deficiency has been supplied from Serampore. This change is ascribed to the cause already mentioned, the gradual decline of Dacca which has fallen in importance both through the loss of trade and the curtailment of the Courts of Justice. The European society is no longer either in number or circumstances what it was a few years ago. Those who compose it however still take a lively interest in the progress of education.

The schools for Native boys are eight in number, dispersed throughout the suburbs of the city, and giving instruction to about 697 scholars who receive a useful and Christian education in the Bengalee language. At first a strong prejudice existed against the schools, but now the children crowd to them and receive Christian instruction with delight. On occasion of the last annual examination in December 1834, a gentleman, who had taken an active part in eighteen previous annual examinations of the same schools, stated that the last excelled all that had gone before, although a large proportion of the children had been admitted since the examination in 1833. The entire number of boys attending the schools has been renewed at least six times since their first establishment, and thus each set of boys must have remained at school about three years.

*Indigenous Schools of Learning*.—Hamilton speaks of certain schools in the district in which the principles or rather the forms of Hindoo religion and law are taught, but I have not been able to trace any further details respecting them. I find not the remotest reference to Mahomedan schools in a district remarkable for a large proportion of Moslem inhabitants.

The public functionaries in 1823 reported to the general Committee that no grants or endowments of any description for the purpose of education were known to exist in the district.

*Native Female Schools*.—There are eight Native female schools, in which 249 girls and young women are instructed in Bengalee. After learning to read, it would appear from the

published accounts that the instruction is exclusively religious. These schools are also in connection with the Serampore mission.

## SECTION IX.

### THE DISTRICT OF BACKERGUNGE.

*Population.*—This district was formed about the year 1800 from the southern portion of Dacca Jelalpoor, and the Courts of Justice and revenue are held at Burisal. In 1801, the total population was estimated at 926,723 inhabitants in the proportion of five Hindoos to three Mahomedans, many of whom reside in boats the whole year. In 1584, a part of this district was overwhelmed by an inundation, succeeded by Mugh invasions, aided by the Portuguese of Chittagong; from the combined effects of which, it is said not to have recovered to the present day. A great destruction of life and property by inundation occurred in 1822. In the southern quarter of the district there still exist several Portuguese colonies of probably two centuries' duration.

*Indigenous Schools.*—I have not been able to obtain any information respecting indigenous schools, either elementary or learned, in this district, and I can only infer from the known state of education in other districts that here also such institutions must exist, although they have not in any way come under public notice. The Collector in 1823 reported that no endowments or funds for the purposes of education existed in the district.

*Native Female Schools.*—In 1834, there was a Native girls' school at Backergunge in connection with the Serampore mission, having 18 scholars in attendance. The prospects of success are said to be pleasing, and the common course of education is pursued with as good results as the circumstances and the tender age of the children will permit.

## SECTION X.

### THE DISTRICT OF CHITTAGONG.

*Population.*—Exclusive of the Mugh settlers the total number of Bengalee inhabitants in 1801 was estimated at 1,200,000, but this is considered a large estimate when the limited area and physical circumstances of the district are considered. The Mahomedans here exceed the Hindoos in the proportion of three to two, but many of them have adopted the Brahmanical doctrines of caste and purity, and it is remarkable also that, although Chittagong was long possessed by the adherents of Buddha, in 1801 it scarcely contained one Buddhist of hereditary growth. The Bengalees live in detached houses, but at stated times once or twice a week assemble in open market-places to buy and sell.

About 1783, when Arracan was conquered by the Burmese a large migration of Mughs into the British territories took place,

some of whom adopted agricultural pursuits, but the majority became petty traders, while others settled as mechanics. In 1795, and in succeeding years, the migration of Mughls from Arracan was incessant. In 1824, war with the Burmese arose, and led to their expulsion from Arracan and to the restoration of the Mughls to their native country.

There is still a Native class of Mughls in Chittagong, the remains probably of the first colony from Arracan that occupied Tripura, on the re-conquest of that territory from the Mahomedans. The eastern limits of the district have not been fully explored, but are principally occupied by rude aboriginal tribes more resembling the Burmese than the Hindoos, and by Mughls. The former do not appear to have aggregated into numerous societies, or to have any dependence on a general chief of their respective nations. Amongst the Mughls, the men have adopted the Bengalee dress, but the females retain that of Arracan and Ava. They eat every thing and with any body, but do not intermarry with strangers. The southern portion of the district is occupied by poor classes of herdsmen and families of roving hunters, who catch, tame, and occasionally eat wild elephants, the aborigines of the forests.

I have not met with any account of the present state of the Portuguese population in Chittagong beyond a general reference to their ignorance and impoverished circumstances. Chittagong was first visited by them in 1581 where they settled in considerable numbers, and in conjunction with the Mughls or Arracanes, infested and desolated the south-eastern quarter of Bengal.

*Indigenous Elementary Schools.*—The report made by the local functionaries in 1824 to the General Committee stated that there were many private schools in the villages around Chittagong, but their number or condition had not been ascertained.

*Elementary Schools not Indigenous.*—In connection with the Serampore mission there are two schools for Native boys at Chittagong, one of which is taught in Hindoostanee as its scholars are chiefly Mussulmans, and the other in Bengalee as it is attended by Hindoos. The number of scholars in both is about 50. In the Hindoostanee school, Arabic and Persian appear to be taught as well as Hindoostanee, which would place it in the rank of a school of Mahomedan learning; but I apprehend some mistake, although it is expressly stated in one of the reports that six of the scholars "were examined in their Persian and Arabic attainments in which they appear very proficient."

*Indigenous Schools of Learning.*—The official report of 1824 makes no mention of indigenous schools of learning, and it is probable that few exist in this district. It is, however, stated that there is much land that has been appropriated to charitable purposes, some for churches and some for the benefit of the poor, but no endowments were known at that time to exist for the benefit of education.

. In 1827, the collector of the district was directed to make enquiries respecting a Native institution supported by endowment, and to report the result to Government. He reported that Meer Hinja had bequeathed lands for the endowment of a madrasa, and that they then yielded for the purpose of education not more than rupees 1,570 per annum, two-thirds of the endowment having been judicially assigned to the founder's children in the year 1790; that with the remaining one-third the then incumbent Maulavi Ali Machtulul Khan Kemoun professed himself unable to keep up the institution on its then present footing, which provided for the instruction of 50 students and for the support of three teachers, one of Arabic and two of Persian; that the number of students originally contemplated was 150; and that the buildings consisted of a small mosque in good order and two low ranges of attached houses for the dwelling of the master and disciples, which were of little value. The collector suggested that the lands would realize twice their present rental, if put up to the highest bidder by order of Government; and submitted that they should be so re-let, and the proceeds paid to the Maulavi in monthly instalments, who in return should periodically submit his accounts and a report of the state of the institution to the Board of Revenue for the information of Government. The Governor General in Council approved this suggestion and it was ordered accordingly.

## SECTION XI

### THE DISTRICT OF TIPERA.

*Population.*—In 1801, the population of this district was estimated at 750,000 persons in the proportion of four Hindoos to three Mahomedans. This district is the chief eastern boundary of Bengal, and its eastern limits are not yet accurately defined. The Tripura nation or tribe continue to maintain a kind of independent principality among the eastern hills about thirty miles wide. In features and manners they resemble the more eastern nations, but their princes have adopted Hindoo names and usages. The three tribes into which the Tripuras are divided are said to speak the same language though varying in character. Still further towards the east between the territory of the Tripura race and the central inaccessible mountains, there is a wide hilly region occupied by the people called Kookies, the Lingach of the Burmese and Lingta of the Bengalees, who appear to be a martial and predatory people.

*Indigenous Schools.*—I have no information regarding either common schools or schools of learning in this district. Hamilton states, perhaps too positively, that there are not any regular schools or seminaries where the Hindoo and Mahomedan laws and religion are taught. In reply to enquiries made by the general



Committee the local agents of Government stated in 1823 that they could not discover that any endowments or funds of a public nature exist in the district, or that any grants have ever been made applicable to the purpose of public instruction.

*Elementary School not Indigenous.*—In 1820, a school was commenced by the Serampore missionaries at *Comilah*, the capital of the district, encouraged by the pecuniary support of private individuals, but the attendance of the scholars was so limited and irregular that it was discontinued. The scholars were the children of laborers who needed their assistance in the fields. The local agents strongly recommend that in future attempts to spread education in the district, the Native zemindars, several of whom reside in Calcutta, should be solicited to give their co-operation, which would greatly contribute to the removal of prejudice and to the final success of the design.

## SECTION XII.

### THE DISTRICT OF MYMUNGING.

*Population.*—This district is intersected through its whole extent by the Brahmaputra and the innumerable streams flowing into it; and the surface of the country being low and flat it is during the height of the floods nearly submerged. In 1801, the total population was estimated at 1,300,000 persons, and the majority of the inhabitants are stated to be Mahomedans in the proportion of five to two Hindoos.

*Schools.*—Hamilton states "that there are not any regular seminaries in this district for teaching the Mahomedan law, but that there are two or three schools in each pergunnah for instruction in Hindoo learning. The district is divided into nineteen pergunnahs and six tuppas, in all twenty-five local sub-divisions, which will give from 50 to 60 schools of Hindoo learning in the district. The scholars are taught gratuitously, it being deemed disgraceful to receive money for instruction.

Indigenous schools for learning imply the existence of indigenous elementary schools, but I find no mention of them in any authority to which I have referred.

The alleged non-existence of Mahomedan schools in a district in which the proportion of Mahomedans to Hindos is as five to two is incredible.

I have not been able to discover that any institution of education that owes its origin to European philanthropy exists in this district.

## SECTION XIII.

### THE DISTRICT OF SYLHET.

*Population.*—In 1801, the inhabitants of this district were computed at 188,245 men, 164,381 women, and 140,319 children,

making a total of 492,945 in the ratio of two Mahomedans to three Hindoos. The number of houses was estimated at 103,637, and the boats belonging to the district at 23,000. The eastern and southern portions of the district are hilly; but the northern, central, and western parts, are flat and submerged during the rains. Although so large a proportion of the whole population is Mahomedan the mosques have been long going to ruin, while several Hindoo temples have been erected and a few merchants have exchanged their thatched dwellings for others of brick and mortar. An authorized traffic in slaves has existed here from time immemorial; and one of the Magistrates estimated this class at one-sixth of the whole population, progressively increasing by domestic propagation. The transfer of slaves takes place both with and without their consent, but in the latter case only the mildest treatment can secure the purchaser any benefit from his acquisition. Occasionally the poorer descriptions of free inhabitants sell themselves when in extreme distress, and a few persons, principally slaves, are inveigled away by strolling mountebanks and mendicants. Women also of the poorer classes, when left widows, sell their children to procure food. Some have been hereditary slaves for several generations and are sold along with the estate on which they reside; and others are imported from Cachar, Gentiah, &c., lying to the north and east of the district. The slave population of Sylhet appears to be principally divided into two classes; *first*, debtor slaves whose labour is taken or sold in payment of debt; and *second*, the descendants of such persons. The former, it is stated, seldom work out their freedom and the latter are doomed to permanent slavery. The bulk belong to the latter class, and are transmitted by the purchasers to their heirs from generation to generation. The slaves are trained up to perform useful work whether in the field or about the house. In some of the districts many of the slaveholders send out such of their slaves as they can spare from the ordinary work in the house and field to let themselves out as servants or day-labourers, and receive for their own benefit the wages earned by them. Slaves are found in the ranks of some of the local military corps conducting themselves creditably as soldiers, and honestly yielding up their pay to their proprietors.

The tribes bordering on Sylhet are the Cosseahs, Cacharees, Garrows, &c., who, with the exception of the Cosseahs, appear to use dialects having a common origin. The Cosseahs have no distinct written character, and for purposes of correspondence employ the Bengallee language and scribes. These tribes, together with those of Assam and Munipore, merit separate investigation and report.

*Schools.*—The information respecting the state of education in this district is exceedingly scanty. Hamilton states that there

are no regular schools and seminaries for teaching the Hindoo or Mahomedan law, but that in different places there are private schools where boys are taught to read and write. Of Mymensing the reverse was stated, that it had schools of learning, but nothing was said of elementary schools. It is probable that in Sylhet the former are to be found as well as the latter, although neither may be numerous or very efficient.

In 1827, the Collector of the district was directed to make enquiry respecting a madrasa supported by endowments, and to report the result to Government. He reported that upon investigation he had discovered sunnuds of endowments for the support of the shrine of Shah Jullah, which limited the allowance to lighting it up, and to the bestowment of alms and other charities, and other sunnuds containing provisions for the education of students not attached to any public institution; that the latter were of a very limited extent, and contained conditions for the support of the grantee and his family and descendants; that the descendants of the grantee performed the obligations of the grant in so much as to instruct a few disciples in their own family; and that the parties appeared to be extremely indigent, and the assigned lands not of sufficient importance to merit the interposition of Government. Under these circumstances the Government resolved not to interfere with the endowments of this madrasa.

## SECTION XIV.

### THE DISTRICT AND CITY OF MOORSHEDABAD.

*Population.*—This district comprises a portion of territory in the immediate vicinity of the city. In 1801, the total population of the district, including the city, was estimated at 1,020,572 persons, in the proportion of two Hindoos to one Mahomedan.

*Indigenous Elementary Schools.*—Nothing is said of such schools by any of my authorities, but I deem it quite unquestionable that, although possibly not very numerous, they exist to some extent both in the district and city.

*Elementary Schools not Indigenous.*—I find mention made only of one such school. It is in the city and is connected with the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society. At the close of 1834 it contained upwards of 60 regular scholars, but since the scriptures have been introduced as a class-book all the Brahmans and some other boys have left. Upwards of 40 remain. The higher classes are taught arithmetic, letter-writing, geography, &c.

*Indigenous Schools of Learning.*—In 1801, there was said to be only one school in the district for instruction in the Mahomedan law, while there were twenty for instruction in the Hindoo laws and customs. It seems very probable that the number both of Hindoo and Mahomedan schools of learning was then and still is much greater.

• In December 1818, the collector of Moorshedabad forwarded to the Board of Revenue the petition of one Kali Kanth Sarma, praying for the continuance to him of a pension of five rupees per month, which had been granted to his father, Jaya Ram Nyaya Panchanan, by the late Maha Rani Bhawoni, former zemindar of *Chucklah Rajshahy*, for the support of a Hindoo college at that place. The Collector accompanied the petition by a statement that the pension had, as represented, been enjoyed by the father of the petitioner and confirmed to him by the Government on the report of the Collector in 1796, and that the petitioner was of good character and qualified for the superintendence of the college. The Revenue Board on forwarding this petition and the Collector's letter to the Government observed that the pension had in fact lapsed to the Government in 1811, the petitioner not being then qualified to discharge the duties of the office, but that it was intended fully to ascertain his fitness for the office and in the event of his competency to give it to him. "On general principles," the Board added, "we entertain the opinion that pensions granted for the maintenance of public institutions for education and instruction should not be resumed so long as they shall be appropriated *bona fide* for the purpose for which they were assigned; and we observe on reference to our proceedings that Government has generally been pleased to continue pensions for similar purposes, the Board having previously ascertained the qualifications of the persons in whose favor they have been granted, and we are accordingly induced to recommend the present claim to the favourable consideration of his Lordship in Council." On this recommendation the Government confirmed Kali Kanth Sarma in the receipt of this pension; and upon his decease in 1821 it was by the same authority conferred on his brother Chandrasiva Nyayalankara whose claim was undisputed and who then maintained seven students, five of them resident in his house.

In July 1822, the Collector of Moorshedabad forwarded to the Revenue Board a petition from Kishanath Nyaya Panchanand, the son of Ramkisore Sarma, reporting the death of his father, and praying the transfer and continuance to himself of a monthly pension of five Rupees which had been granted in 1793 for the support of a Hindoo seminary at *Vyspur* near *Colapur*. The Collector reported the petitioner to be the heir and rightful claimant of the pension and well qualified for the performance of the duties

of the school. Under these circumstances the transfer of the pension from the name of Ramkisore Sarma to his son Kishanath Nyaya Panchanand was authorized.

*Schools of Learning not Indigenous.*—In 1826, Mr. W. L. Melville, who then held the situation of Agent to the Governor General at Moorshedabad, reported the establishment of a college and school in that city in pursuance of the orders of Government, in the accomplishment of which he stated that he had had to encounter some difficulties and delays. The head-maulavi and other principal officers were selected from the Calcutta college, with the exception of Maulavi Musurat Ali, who out of deference to the religious tenets of the Nizam's family was chosen from the Sheah sect. This Native, having been strongly recommended to the Resident by the Nawab Mungle, was appointed mauavi and took charge of the school, and although a man inferior in learning to the teacher from the Calcutta college, he was equal to the duties of his appointment. It is added that it was not easy to find persons of the Sheah sect in that part of India who were eminent scholars. In the selection of pupils a preference was given to the immediate family of the Nizam, the members of which were encouraged to avail themselves of its advantages; but after some considerable delay, as they did not embrace the opportunity of entering the institution, the resident filled up the number of fifty students, of whom six were to attend the college and forty-four the school. The Government approved the conduct of Mr. Melville in the establishment of this college and school, and instructed him to report the progress of the institution and to submit his suggestions for its future management whenever he might be prepared to do so. He was also authorized to draw from the hands of the Collector of the district the sum of Rupees 4,918-5-15, together with the monthly allowance of Rupees 1,500 on the same account, being an annual charge of Rupees 18,000. This institution does not appear to be under the direction of the General Committee, there being no mention of it in the Committee's report of 1832.

*Native Female Schools.*—There is a Native girls' school at Moorshedabad in connection with the Missionary Society, just mentioned. It is attended regularly by about 30 children, some of the elder girls read the Gospel fluently, and the rest in lower classes are instructed in the usual native way. After their daily lessons are completed they all repeat a catechism and the Lord's Prayer, and conclude with singing one or more Bengalee hymns.

## SECTION XV.

### THE DISTRICT OF BEERBHOOM.

*Population.*—In 1801, the population of Beerbhoom was estimated at 700,000 in the proportion of thirty Hindoos to one

Mahomedan. A considerable portion of this district is hilly, jungly, and thinly inhabited. Highway depredations were frequent, chiefly committed on Hindoo pilgrims journeying through the forests to the sanctuary at Baidyanath, where there is a celebrated temple dedicated to Siva. In 1814 an arrangement was made with the petty hill chiefs of the western jungles to secure their own abstinence from plundering, and also their assistance towards the suppression of robberies perpetrated by others.

*Indigenous Schools.*—I find no account of the state of indigenous education in this district. Hamilton is silent on the subject, and in reply to inquiries made by the General Committee in 1823, the local Agent of Government stated that there were no seminaries for the instruction of youth in the district, either public or private, and, as I suppose must be understood, either elementary or learned. If, as I suspect, this statement is incorrect, it is the more extraordinary, because the agent appears to have taken a great deal of trouble to collect information regarding the means existing in the district supposed to be applicable to the encouragement of education. From the analogy of other neighboring districts, it seems incredible that there should be no schools of any kind amongst a population in which there is a proportion of thirty Hindoos to one Mahomedan.

In 1820 a Hindoo named Sarbanand, who claimed succession to the office of *ojha* or high-priest of the temple of *Baidyanath* already mentioned, made an offer to the Government through the local agent to give 5,000 Rupees as an endowment for a Native school in the district on condition that his claim to the succession of the *ojhaship* might be sanctioned and established by the authority of Government. From a notice of this transaction contained in the records of the General Committee, it would appear that he actually sent the money to the Collector's office, and that in addition to the establishment of a school he wished it to be in part, expended on the excavation of a tank at Soory, the chief town of the district. The offer was declined, and Sarbanand informed that he must abide the regular adjudication of the law courts on his claim, which proved unfavourable.

The acting agent and collector in Beerbhoom in 1823 seems to have considered that the funds of the temple were liable to be applied to the establishment of public institutions, but it does not appear on what grounds this opinion was formed. According to one account the collections of the temple average 30,000 rupees per annum, the amount depending on the number and liberality of the pilgrims. According to an official estimate made in 1822, the resources of the temple were supposed to be 1,50,000 rupees annually. A specific fact stated is that in two months the collections amounted to 15,000 rupees, but it is not said whether the two

months were in the season of the year when the temple is most frequented. The present appropriation of the revenue after providing, I conclude, for the current expenses of the temple, is to the support of religious mendicants and devotees.

The acting agent and collector also submitted two statements of the quantity of land dedicated to various religious purposes, expressing at the same time the opinion that the produce of these endowments is generally estranged from the purposes to which it was originally devoted, and enjoyed by persons who have no claim to it. He seems to have considered that these endowments also were applicable to purposes of education, but the reasons of the opinion are not given. The statements were prepared from the public registries of land and I subjoin them entire, noticing here only their general results. These are that in twenty-two pergunnahs there are 8,348 beeghas, besides 39 separate mouzabs, or villages of *dewottur* lands; 16,331 beeghas of *nazz* lands; 5,086 beeghas of *chiraghi* lands, and 1,015 beeghas of *pirottur* lands. In fifteen other pergunnahs that had been then recently transferred from the district of Moorsshedabad to that of Beerbhoom, there are 1,934 beeghas of *dewottur* and 162 of *pirottur* lands, making the whole amount 32,877 beeghas of land, besides 39 villages. I have added to the statements a brief explanation of the distinctive terms employed to describe the different sorts of endowed lands; and I have recorded these endowments in this place because they were in some way connected in the mind of the acting agent and collector with the means existing in the district for the promotion of education; but I would not be understood to express a concurrence in the opinion, if it was entertained, that their application to such a purpose could be rendered legally obligatory. As far as I can ascertain from the terms employed to describe them they are religious endowments. With the voluntary consent of the holders, they are, as I understand, capable of being applied to promote education when viewed as a religious duty; but without that consent it would be unjust to employ them for such a purpose, and it would also be imprudent by the employment of questionable means in pursuit of a great public object, such as national education, to rouse the religious feelings of the country against it.

*Elementary School not Indigenous.*—In connection with the Baptist Missionary Society at the head station of the district, there is a Bengalee School having about 50 scholars.

*Native Female School.*—There were at one time several schools for Native girls in Beerbhoom, but they have all been formed into one Central School which is in connection with the Calcutta Baptist Female School Society. Until lately it contained upwards of eighty girls; but since the hurkarce employed to collect them was dismissed, and especially since the employment of Christian instead

of non-Christian teachers, the school has fallen away fully one-half, there being at the date of the last report only forty girls on the list. Almost all attend in the morning, but there is always a considerable deficiency in the afternoon. Reading, writing, cyphering, sewing, and Christian instruction are the exercises of the school.

APPENDIX TO SECTION XV.

(Extracted from the Records of the General Committee of Public Instruction).

Statement specifying the quantity of Lands as Dewottur, &c., situated in the under-mentioned Pergunnahs in Zillah Beerbhoom.

Names of Pergunnahs	Dewottur Land	Nazr	Chiraghi	Pirottur.	Total Lands
	Bs K G	Bs K G	Bs. K. G.	Bs K. G	Bs. K. G.
Burbuk Sing	792 14 0	1,408 15 0	103 16 0	107 10 0	2,408 15 0
Suroop Sing	1,224 17 0	608 11 0	973 16 0	195 5 0	2,402 9 0
Hunpoor	372 12 0	1,825 11 0	46 0 0	9 5 0	2,247 8 0
Tuppah Mahomedabas	60 10 0	93 10 0	43 17 0	..	193 3 0
Rabik Mouressur	337 4 0	100 0 0	115 17 0	62 2 0	615 3 0
Kootulpoor	845 10 0	200 0 0	9 10 0	45 16 0	1,095 5 0
Jugnoojol	588 16 0	6,927 2 4	130 5 0	103 1 0	7,730 4 4
Khurnu Burroh	217 11 0	921 18 0	...	34 5 0	1,173 14 0
Ekburshahee	101 16 0	517 12 10	2,483 5 10	55 13 0	3,158 7 0
Khulanja	606 14 15	60 11 0	690 10 0	137 2 0	1,400 17 15
Durree Mouressur	41 14 0	...	231 6 0	14 10 0	287 10 0
Shah Allampoer	933 18 18	1,289 17 0	139 5 10	97 1 0	2,460 9 8
Aleenggur	123 4 0	268 15 0	131 8 0	...	5,237 0 0
Saubhoom	1,084 4 0	239 16 0	30 1 0	1 6 0	1,355 7 0
Talook Soopoor	248 10 0	1,146 6 0	10 14 0	36 19 0	1,442 9 0
Koondahit Kurra	8 12 0	...	...	...	9 12 0
Poorunderpoor	11 13 0	69 4 0	43 14 0	6 11 0	160 2 0
Hookmepoor	698 16 0	31 4 0	...	...	720 19 0
Bhoorkoondah	69 11 0	...	...	25 4 0	94 12 0
Noonee	...	697 10 0	234 18 0	...	932 8 0
Mulloopoore	...	9 1 0	247 17 0	...	276 18 0
Total	8,348 16 15	16,331 14 14	5,086 0 0	1,015 10 0	30,781 16 7

In Tuppah Sarhet, Deoghur, Dewottur } 39 Mouzas.  
 • Mouzas of Bydeenath Thakoor, }

ZILLAH BEERBHOOM;  
 The 20th November 1823. }

J. M. GARRETT,  
 Acting Collector.



*Statement specifying the quantity of Lands as Dewottur, &c., situated in the under-mentioned Pergunnahs transferred from Moorshe-dabad to Zillah Beerbhoom.*

Names of Pergunnahs.	Dewottur Land			Nazr.			Chiraghi.			Pirottur			Total Land		
	Bs.	K.	G.	Bs.	K.	G.	Bs.	K.	G.	Bs.	K.	G.	Bs.	K.	G.
Pergunnah Shahanulappore	94	12	15				...			1	0	10	95	13	5
" Kargaong	403	10	11							7	2	5	410	12	16
" Mukoree	19	6	0										19	6	0
" Bhajadpore	228	15	0							6	6	0	234	14	15
" Kassupore	22	3	0							3	14	0	25	19	0
" Rookoonpore	156	6	10										156	6	10
" Katgurr	130	8	6							5	7	0	235	15	6
" Joar Ibrahimpore	25	2	0							10	2	0	35	4	0
" Futtehsing	75	3	0							1	5	0	76	8	0
" Dhowa										1	17	0	1	17	0
" Sheerpore	116	19	10							20	9	5	137	9	5
" Futehsing	203	13	0							97	2	0	300	15	0
" Kootubpore	279	8	8							6	3	0	285	11	8
Chukleh Gukooltah	74	2	10							2	0	0	76	2	10
" Buihat	5	0	0										5	0	0
Total	1,934	2	5							162	10	10	2,096	12	15

BEERBHOOM, }  
The 20th November 1823 }

J. M. GARRETT,  
Acting Collector.

*Dewottur* lands are lands given by wealthy Hindoos to Brahmans for the maintenance of religion, in honor of the gods, and for the acquisitions of religious merit. The nature and extent of the obligation imposed by the endowment can be correctly understood only by a reference in each case to the terms in which it is expressed; but, in general, grantees are not much restricted in the application of the property, and they sometimes employ part of it in charity and in promoting learning.

*Nazr* lands are such as are devoted by wealthy Musalmans to the use of those who give themselves up to the service of God, sometimes the land is retained in the hands of the owner, and the revenue derived from it is distributed with his own hands to the devout and needy.

*Chiraghi* lands are those the produce of which is devoted by Musalmans to defray the expenses attending the performance of certain religious services in honor of a *pirr* or deceased spiritual guide to whom the religious merit is transferred.

*Pirottur* are those which are applied to the same purposes with this difference that the merit is transferred to any deceased saint-whom it may be desired to honor.

## SECTION XVI.

### THE DISTRICT OF RAJSAHY.

*Population.*—In 1801 the number of inhabitants was estimated in round numbers at 1,500,000 in the proportion of two

Hindoos to one Mahomedan. From the beginning of July to the end of November the district is nearly submerged.

*Indigenous Elementary Schools.*—I do not find in any publication or authority the slightest reference to the state of elementary education in this district, although it is not to be supposed that the inhabitants are entirely indifferent to the instruction of their children.

• *Elementary School not Indigenous.*—In a letter published in one of the monthly journals dated September 1834 from *Rampore Bauleah*, I find mention made of a school at that station under the superintendence of an English gentleman; but no account is given of it except by saying that it was succeeding beyond expectation.

• *Indigenous Schools of Learning.*—There is no doubt that in this district there are several schools of Hindoo learning, but I find no mention of any of them except two which are supported by an allowance from Government. In June 1813, the Collector of Rajshahy forwarded to the Revenue Board a petition from Kassessur Bachusputy, Govindram Suhah, and Hurram Surma Buttacharjee, stating that their father had received from Rani Bhowannee an allowance of 90 rupees per annum for the support of a college, which allowance on the decease of their father had been continued to their elder brother till his decease; and that since the date of that event, they had kept up the establishment, and, therefore, prayed that the allowance might be continued to them.

The collector corroborated the averments in this petition, observing that Kassessur discharged the duties of one college in the town of Nattore, and that his two brothers had established another in the Mofussil.

• The Revenue Board, in forwarding the collector's letter and the petition to Government, observed that the pension had been conferred by the authority of Government on the late Chindar Sikar Turkanshes for his life, on a representation from the collector that he had no other means of subsistence, and was properly qualified and taught the sciences gratis, that he was attended by many students; was the only capable teacher in Nattore; and that the continuance of his pension might be deemed a public benefit.

The Revenue Board further submitted that, as it appeared the brothers maintained the institutions of their father in full efficiency, the pension might be continued to them and their heirs in perpetuity, on the condition of their continuing to uphold these establishments under the supervision of the local agents of the British Government. The Bengal Government fully acquiesced in this suggestion, and sanctioned the payment of the allowance of 90 rupees per annum on the condition stated by the Revenue Board.

## SECTION XVII.

## THE DISTRICT OF RANGPUR.

*Population.*—This is one of those districts on which Dr. Buchanan reported, but that copy of his reports which has been retained in India is defective on this district. Only one volume remains on Rangpur out of three or four of which the report on this district originally consisted, and the missing volumes contained the chapter which, in conformity with the arrangement he adopted in his reports on other districts, he most probably devoted to education. Hamilton apparently had an opportunity of inspecting the original Buchanan reports at the India House which, it is believed, are complete.

In 1809 Dr. Buchanan estimated the population at 2,735,000 persons, of whom 1,536,000 were Mahomedans, 1,194,350 were Hindoos, and the remainder 4,650 are called infidels, by which term it is probably meant that, without embracing either the Hindoo or Mahomedan faith, they retain the aboriginal superstitions of the country. The principal sect among the Hindoos is that of the worshippers of the female deities. The whole number of Brahmans in 1809 was estimated at about 6,000 families, or one-fortieth of the whole Hindoo population. The proportion of the Mahomedan to the Hindoo population is, about ten to nine, and the faith of the former is stated to be daily gaining ground; but the adherents of the two religions are on the most friendly terms.

The following are the divisions of the population with regard to occupation :—

Persons who do not work	...	...	343,000
Artificers	...	...	326,000
Cultivators	..	...	2,066,000
Total	...	...	2,735,000

The great farmers in Rangpur are mostly Brahmans, Kayasthas, and Mahomedans of some rank. Few especially of the older families ever visit each other, but live surrounded with dependents and flatterers, especially mendicant vagrants. Some families pretend to be of divine origin; others are descended from princes who have governed the country; but a great majority of those who possess the most valuable lands are new men who have purchased their estates at auction. Time in this district is measured by clepsydras or water-clocks. Domestic slavery exists especially along the Northern Frontier, and female prostitution is in a remarkable manner systematised. Education generally is in a very low state, on which account almost every person employed in any high department of the revenue or police is a stranger.

Few persons in the district are qualified for the occupation even of a common clerk or writer. Some of the strangers bring their families with them, but by far the greater number leave them in their native district, and consider themselves as undergoing a species of banishment. The small farmers are very timid and totally illiterate. Five or six families commonly unite under one chief man, who settles the whole of their transactions with their landlords, and to whose guidance they entirely surrender themselves. Throughout the district the most opulent merchants and landholders have no better habitations than the huts constructed of straw mats precisely of the same form and appearance, as those of the lowest peasantry, but in greater number and larger dimensions.

Rangpur has on its frontier Nepal, Bhootan, Cooch Behar, Assam, and the country of the Garrows from which it is separated, not by large rivers, lofty mountains, or any other natural landmark, but by imaginary and ill-defined boundaries.

*Indigenous Elementary Schools.*—In the absence of Dr. Buchanan's account of the state of education, the answers made by the canoongoes of the district to the circular inquiries of the General Committee in 1823 afford some information on which apparently dependence may be placed. The information thus given to the Committee was communicated in a singularly ill-digested form; but after comparing the various statements which it includes, it would appear that in fourteen out of nineteen sub-divisions of the district there were no elementary schools whatever, and that, in the remaining five, there were ten Bengalee schools and two Persian ones for elementary instruction. In some of the sub-divisions having no common schools, parents, to supply the want of them, either employ teachers in their own houses in whose instructions the children of neighbouring families are allowed to participate, or themselves instruct their own children. The employment of a private tutor and still more parental instruction would appear to be very common. In some instances Hindoos are mentioned as teachers of Persian schools, and Mahomedans of Bengalee ones. In these schools the monthly payment for the instruction of one boy is from two to four and eight annas and even one rupee. The number of boys in one school did not exceed twelve, and there was sometimes as small a number as three taught by one master. In this district the boys are described as attending school from their seventh or eighth to their fifteenth year. The canoongoes almost uniformly speak of the advantage which the district would derive from the encouragement given to education by Government.

*Indigenous Schools of Learning.*—Hamilton on the state of learning in this district says that a few Brahmans have acquired sufficient skill in astronomy to construct an almanac, and five or six Pundits instruct youth in a science named *Agam*, or magic,

comprehending astrology and chiromancy. The latter is reckoned a higher science than the calculation of nativities, and is monopolised by the sacred order. The Mahomedans, he adds, having no wise men of their own, consult those of the Hindoos. This account of the state of learning is very unfavourable and is not quite correct. The Agama shastra does not merely teach astrology and chiromancy, but is also occupied with the ritual observances of modern Hindooism, and it is not the only branch of learning taught in the schools.

From the details furnished by the canoongoes, it appears that in nine sub-divisions of the district there are 41 schools of Sanskrit learning containing each from 5 to 25 scholars, who are taught grammar, general literature, rhetoric, logic, law, the mythological poems, and astronomy, as well as the Agama shastra. The students often prosecute their studies till they are thirty-five and even forty years of age, and are almost invariably the sons of Brahmans. They are supported in various ways—first, by the liberality of those learned men who instruct them; secondly, by the presents they receive on occasions of invitation to religious festivals and domestic celebrations; thirdly, by their relations at home; and fourthly, by begging, recourse being had to one means when others fail. The instructors are enabled to assist their pupils, sometimes from their own independent means, sometimes from the occasional gifts they receive from others, and sometimes from the produce of small endowments. At least ten are stated to have small grants of land for the support of learning, one of these consisting of 25 beeghas of Brahmottur land, and another of 176 beeghas of Lakhiraj land. The quantity of land in the other cases is not mentioned, but it is not stated to be generally Brahmottur.

In one instance it is stated that the owner of the estate on which the school is situated gave the Pundit a yearly present of 32 rupees, and in another instance a monthly allowance of 5 or 8 rupees. In a third instance the Pundit of the school lived on his patrimony, and at the same time acted as family priest to the zemindar.

*Native Female Education.*—In Rangpur it is considered highly improper to bestow any education on women, and no man would marry a girl who was known to be capable of reading; but as girls of rank are usually married about eight years of age, and continue to live with their families for four or five years afterwards, the husbands are sometimes deceived, and find on receiving their wives that, after marriage, they have acquired that sort of knowledge, which is supposed to be most inauspicious to their husbands. Although this female erudition scarcely ever proceeds further than being able to indite a letter and to examine an account, yet it has been the means of rescuing many families from threatened destruction.

The women of rank live much less dissipated lives than the men, and are generally better fitted for the management of their estates, on which account they are considered intolerable nuisances by the harpies who seek to prey on their husbands and to plunder their estates.

## SECTION XVIII.

### THE DISTRICT OF DINAJPUR.

*Population.*—In 1808 the total population of the district was estimated by Dr. Buchanan at 3,000,000 of persons, of whom 2,100,000 were Mahomedans and 900,000 Hindoos, or in the proportion of seven of the former to three of the latter. The Hindoos appear at one time to have been almost entirely extirpated, most of those now in the district being the progeny of newcomers. The greater part of the landlords are new men who have recently purchased their estates, and who were formerly either merchants, manufacturers, agents of landholders, or native officers of Government. The old zemindars are either the prey of religious mendicants or are totally abandoned to sottish dissipation. Of the Hindoo population only 70,000 belong to the pure tribes, the remainder being impure, very low, or utterly degraded. Slaves are not numerous. They were mostly purchased during the great famine of 1769 and the scarcity of 1787; but they turned out so idle and careless that their employment was found much more expensive than that of hired laborers. The following are the principal towns:—*Dinajpur* containing in 1808 about 5,000 houses and 30,000 inhabitants; *Malda* 3,000 houses; *Gau* 3,000; and *Raygunge* 1,000.

*Indigenous Elementary Schools.*—The state of elementary education in this district is, according to Dr. Buchanan, very low. Natives of the district qualified to hold any office superior to that of a common clerk are difficult to be found, and of course strangers fill the principal offices both public and private.

The district has twenty-two police sub-divisions of which thirteen contain 119 elementary Bengalee schools and nine Persian ones, nine of the sub-divisions having no elementary schools whatever. In the towns of *Dinajpur* and *Malda* the average number of scholars to each master is about 20 and the fees are from four to eight annas a month, according to the progress the children have made. On an average the fees are six annas each or seven and a half rupees a month for 20 scholars, which in this district is a decent income; but in country places the average number of scholars does not exceed twelve, and the fees are from one to four annas, or on an average two and a half annas a month, so that the total average income is only one rupee and 14 annas a month. Even these small fees are beyond the reach of the bulk of the people, so that, were not many parents at the pains to instruct

their own children, very few would be able to read and write. Even with this assistance Dr. Buchanan is of opinion that not more than one-sixteenth of the men born in this district acquire these accomplishments.

The Persian schools are nearly as much frequented by Hindoos as by Mahomedans, for the Persian language is considered as a requisite accomplishment for every gentleman, and it is absolutely necessary for those who are candidates for offices in the courts of law. The number of pupils in the district is very small, and most of the people of any rank or wealth have their children instructed by private tutors who are procurable on the most moderate terms. The studies usually pursued are forms for correspondence, process of law, and legendary tales. The Hindoostanee would appear to be only colloquially known to the population, and the people of higher rank teach their children to speak a high style of it, consisting almost entirely of Arabic and Persian terms. Although Mahomedans form the majority of the population, and the Hindoostanee is generally understood, yet it is not taught in any school nor spoken by the common people who have either adopted or never relinquished the dialect of Bengal.

Dr. Buchanan expresses the sound and judicious opinion that no considerable improvement in the education of Indian youth can be hoped for until each popular language has obtained some books fitted to render the common people wiser and better. He adds that the books wanted for this district should be composed by Mahomedans, who are the majority of the people, and are most in want of instruction.

*Elementary School not Indigenous.*—The wife of a Missionary in connection with the Serampore Mission has established a boys' school at *Sadhamul* in this district, where every previous attempt of the kind had proved abortive. She has had a regular attendance of full 20 children, and her continual superintendence has secured a very gratifying progress in the scholars. At the beginning there was only one boy in the place who was known to be able to read, but now the whole of the first class read the New Testament, and a number more are advancing to the same degree of proficiency.

*Indigenous Schools of Learning.*—Of the twenty-two subdivisions of the district, there are fifteen without any schools of learning, and the remaining seven have only sixteen schools. Most of the teachers possess lands which enable them to provide for their own subsistence as well as that of their pupils, and they receive gifts from all Hindoos of any distinction. There is, however, no necessity for a person who holds these lands to instruct youth, and when the celebrity of a teacher has procured large grants of land, his heirs, although they continue to enjoy the estate, are not bound to teach. They may retain the high title of *Pundit* ....

devoting themselves to the business of instruction, or they may even betake themselves to the degrading affairs of the world without forfeiting the property. Very much, however, to the credit of the Brahmans, such a neglect is not usual, and one son of the family continues generally to profess the instruction of youth. If there are other sons they follow their natural inclination. With such a system, however liberal it may be in appearance, and to whatever merit the individual professors are justly entitled, it must be evident that the work of education will go on but slowly. It is even to be feared that it would altogether stop, were it not for the charity which usually follows considerable reputation as a teacher.

Students usually commence the study of the Sanskrit language about twelve years of age, after they have been instructed in the knowledge taught in the elementary schools. The principal studies are, as elsewhere in Bengal, grammar, law, and metaphysics, and less frequently the philosophical theology of the vedas, the ritual of modern Hindooism, and astronomy, to which may be added medicine or rather magic.

The Vaidyas or medical tribe, and even some rich Kayasthas, are permitted to study such portions of Sanskrit literature as have been composed by wise men; but they are excluded from whatever is supposed to be of divine origin and authority. Dr. Buchanan remarks that the exclusiveness with which Sanskrit learning has been appropriated to the sacred tribe may have tended to increase the general ignorance; but that there can be no doubt that those who possess it enjoy very considerable advantages over their countrymen. The Brahmans generally speaking have an intelligence and acuteness far beyond other Hindoos; and he further thinks that they are subject to fewer vices, and that those persons will be found to approach nearest their good qualities who are admitted even to the porch of science. Here as well as elsewhere it will be found that although intellectual cultivation, and moral excellence are neither identical nor always concomitant, yet the addition to intellectual pursuits and enjoyments, *ceteris paribus*, leads to the elevation and improvement of the moral character. Amongst the multiplied means, therefore, which civilization and philanthropy will suggest for the reformation of a whole people, let us not altogether neglect one of which, however unfamiliar it may be to our conceptions, experience has established the utility, and which has in fact been the salt of the earth, preserving the country for centuries past amid general debasement and corruption from total ignorance and depravation.

It does not appear that there is any school in which Arabic or the sciences of the Mahomedans are taught,—a remarkable fact, respecting a populous district in which so large a proportion of the inhabitants is Mahomedan.



Although some of the Mahomedan priests can read the portions of the koran that are appropriated for certain ceremonies, yet Dr. Buchanan heard a general complaint from the kazis that few understood a single word of that language, and that the greater part had merely learned the passages by rote so as to enable them to perform the ceremonies.

*Native Female Education.*—The education of native females would appear to be viewed in the same light in this district as in Rangpur. Women are not only not educated, but the idea of educating them even in the most elementary knowledge is treated with contempt and even reprobation.

## APPENDIX TO SECTION XVIII.

*Extracted from the General Statistical Table of Dr. Buchanan's Report on the District or Zillah of Dinajpur.*

Numbers	Head and Total Division or Thanns.	Higher Hindoo Schools.	Common Hindoo Schools	Persian Schools.	Proportion between number of	
					Hindoos	Moslems.
1	Rajarampur	..	..	..	..	8
2	Briznuj	..	..	..	..	12
3	Thakimgram	..	2	..	4	12
4	Ramsongkol	..	1	..	4	12
5	Parganj	..	..	..	1	15
6	Hentabad	..	..	..	4	12
7	Kalyanganj	..	..	1	9	7
8	Bangsihari	..	2	..	8	8
9	Jogodol	..	2	..	4	12
10	Malda	..	2	..	8	8
11	Punusa	..	10	2	10	6
12	Gonggarnimpur	..	1	..	2	14
13	Potirau	..	3	40	3	12
14	Potitole	..	..	..	4	12
15	Badolgachhi	..	..	..	6	10
16	Lalbazari	..	..	..	4	12
17	Chintamon	..	4	12	2	6
18	Howrah	..	..	..	6	10
19	Nawabganj	..	12	..	6	10
20	Ghoraghat	..	12	..	4	12
21	Ilhyettal	..	1	..	6	10
22	Dinajpur	..	10	1	4	12
	Total	16	119	9	3	7

## SECTION XIX.

## THE DISTRICT OF PURNEAH.

*Population.*—In 1789 Mr. Suetonius Grant Heatly, then Collector of Purneah, computed the number of villages within the limits of the district at 5,800, from which he inferred a population of 1,200,000 persons. In 1801 Mr. W. S. Rees reported the number of villages to be 7,056 and the estimated total population 1,450,000 persons. Dr. Buchanan was of opinion that, during the forty years prior to 1810, the population of Purneah had nearly doubled, and his computation, the result of a much more laborious investigation, exhibits a total population of 2,904,280 persons in the proportion of forty-three Mahomedans to fifty-seven Hindoos.

Of the latter more than half still consider themselves as belonging to foreign nations either from the west or south, although few have any tradition concerning the era of their migration, and others have no knowledge of the country whence they suppose their ancestors to have come. Comprehended in the above population are various classes of slaves. They are allowed to marry and their children become slaves; but the individuals of a family are seldom sold separately. One class of slaves are the most useful description of labouring people. Their owners seldom use the power they possess of selling them. Although the Mahomedans are in proportion fewer than in Dinajpur, they have more influence, much more of the land being in their possession. The manners of the capital town are entirely Mahomedan, and the faith is apparently gaining ground. Except artists, all the Mahomedans call themselves shak as deriving their origin from Arabia, but a great majority are not to be distinguished from the neighbouring Hindoo peasantry. In 1810 there were twelve families of Native Christians who are called Portuguese and who are chiefly employed as writers. Among the Rajpoots are a few Sauras or worshippers of the sun. Within the whole district there are reckoned to be 482 market-places, and the principal towns are—*Purneah* containing 6,000 houses, *Nautpoor* 1,400, *Kushla* 1,400, *Dhamdaha* 1,300, and *Matanti* 1,000.

According to Buchanan the dialects spoken in the district are in a state of great confusion. The emigrations appeared to him to have been so recent that the people had not yet moulded their discourse into a common language. The Bengalee and the Hindee, and different dialects of each, contend for the mastery. The Bengalee character is very little used, and except among the traders of Bengal settled in almost every part, it is chiefly confined to the eastern sub-divisions, and even there the accounts of the zemindars are kept both in Nagree and Bengalee.

In the sub-divisions of Sibgunj, Bholahat, Kaleyachak, Kharwa, Nehnagar, Delalgunj, and Udhraih, the Bengalee language is by far the most prevalent. In Gorgurilah and Kirehugunj both dialects and both characters are very much intermixed, so that it

would be difficult to say with certainty which is most prevalent. The Bengalee perhaps is a little more common in the former, and the Hindee in the latter. In Bahadurgunj and Matagari on the frontier of Morung, many of the tribes from the east speak Bengalee. The Hindee and Mithila are, however, by far the most prevalent, and in all the remaining sub-divisions little else is spoken in conversation. The oral use of Hindoostanee is generally understood except among the very lowest of the people. The western portion of Purneah formed part of the ancient kingdom of Mithila, together with the modern districts of Tirhoot and Sarun in Behar and part of the adjacent tracts now possessed by the Nepaulesc. Within those territories a distinct language was spoken still named the Mithila, or Trihutya, or Tirahuti, and accordingly in the western portion of Purneah learned Hindoos still use in their literary compositions the character called, Tirahuti which differs little from the Bengalee in form, but much in pronunciation. With some exceptions, the Brahmans of Mithila pronounce their words nearly in the same manner with those of the south of India. The dialects of the Bengalee language, where it is spoken, are exceedingly impure. There is not only a difference in almost every petty canton, but even in the same village several dialects (Mithila, Magadha, Sambhal, &c.) are often in common use, each caste retaining the peculiar words, accents, and accents of the country from which it originally came. The Hindee is in a still greater state of confusion. There are local dialects which often vary so much that one is not only not spoken, but not even understood, by those who use the other. There are, however, two chief dialects. One is an *Apabhasha* or vulgar tongue, spoken by the lowest classes, by the women, and even by a large proportion of the Brahmans. This dialect contains many songs and several hymns in praise of the village deities, but none of them appear to have been committed to writing. The second is called *Désbasha* or the language of the country, and is spoken by a considerable portion of the Brahmans and persons of the higher ranks and also by a very small proportion of the women, but even these use the first dialect when they speak to their servants. The *Désbasha* is also used in correspondence by persons of rank and education, but a good many who can speak it, or understand it when spoken, especially among the Brahmans, cannot write it at all, and several use it in business without acquiring a pure style. Not above 3,000 men in the whole district understand this language, so as to speak it with propriety, nor can half that number write it. Perhaps 300 women understand it when spoken; and of these only about 20 were known to be able to correspond in this dialect, or indeed in any other, and all these lived to the west of the Kosi river. It is only on the west side of the Kosi that there is any considerable degree of education among the people of this district who speak the Hindee language.

In the preceding details, I have endeavoured faithfully to abstract Dr. Buchanan's account of the confusion of tongues prevailing in this district, although I am not sure that I have always caught his meaning which is sometimes obscurely expressed. The statements it contains are curious, and probably in most respects correct; but I should apprehend that in some instances he may have transformed mere provincialisms, such as are found to exist in the counties of England, into radical diversities of language.

*Indigenous Elementary Schools.*—In the eighteen sub-divisions of the district, Dr. Buchanan found 613 elementary schools amongst the Hindoo population, there being only one sub-division entirely destitute of such schools. These schools he considered very inadequate to the demand, and a large proportion of the children of the district are taught to read and write by their parents. A few teachers in the principal towns keep public schools attended by from 15 to 20 boys, but in general the teacher is hired by some wealthy man who gives him wages and food and commonly allows him to teach a few children belonging to his neighbours, but some refuse this accommodation. Other employers do not undertake to feed the teacher daily, and he has to go in turns to the houses of the parents of the children whom he instructs. In this district no one teaches to read the Hindoe (Nagreo?) characters without at the same time teaching his scholars to write them.

The number of Akhuns or inferior description of Mohomedan teachers is stated by Dr. Buchanan to have been 66, there being six districts that have none at all. The Persian or Arabic characters are taught without writing them which is made a separate study. By far the greater part of the people who in this district acquire the mystery of reading the Persian character, proceed no further, nor do they attempt to understand what they read. This character is very little used for writing Hindoostanee, which indeed is chiefly a colloquial language, and is seldom written even in the transaction of business. Many, however, study the Persian language, and it is supposed that there are about 1,000 men capable of conducting business by means of it; but in general they have confined their studies merely to the forms of correspondence and law proceedings. Few, indeed, are supposed to be elegant scholars, and none profess to teach the higher parts of Persian literature.

The results of elementary education throughout the district are given by Dr. Buchanan in a separate table, from which it appears that, according to his information, there were 18,050 men capable of keeping common accounts, 16,550 who could sign their names, and 1,830 men and 483 women who understood the common

*Indigenous Schools of Learning.*—Throughout the district Dr. Buchanan reckoned 119 schools of this description, possessing various degrees of respectability. The subjects taught are grammar, logic, and law, astronomy and the modern ritual, the teachers of the two latter, although classed as learned men, being less respected than the former. Some even of the most respected class were reputed to possess but superficial acquirements. The students are said to be inattentive and to take long vacations. About as many students go to other districts from Purneah as are attracted to it from other quarters. No Pundit had above eight scholars altogether which is less than two for each teacher. The Pundits in the district, including the professional teachers, amounted to 247, but the claims of many to the title were deemed questionable. A great many other persons to the number of 1,800 or 1,900 assume the title of Pundit, but are distinguished from the former by the name of dasakarmas. They officiate as priests to the Sudras, and towards the west they act in the same capacity for very low castes; but in those parts few can read or write any language. They understand, however, the poetical legends when read, have acquired some knowledge of the marvels they contain, have committed to memory the necessary forms of prayer, and can perform the usual ceremonies. In the eastern parts of the district, where the manners of Bengal prevail, there is a class of Brahmins who officiate for the lower castes of Sudras, and their knowledge is nearly on a level with that of the dasakarmas. The dasakarmas, who act as priests for the higher order of Sudras, can read and are able to pray from a book. A good many of them have studied for a year or two under a learned teacher, and have some slight knowledge of grammar and law. Some of them can understand a part of the ceremonies which they read, and some also can note nativities. A very few of the medical tribe in the south-east corner of the district have studied the sacred tongue.

It is remarked that science is almost entirely confined to two of the corners of the district, the old territory called *Gour*, and the small portion situated to the west of the Kosi. In the former case, the effect is attributed to the care of a native public officer who had several estates in that vicinity, and still retained a part at the time of Dr. Buchanan's investigation. He appointed six pundits to teach, and gave them an allowance besides the lands which they possess. They are reckoned higher in rank than the other professors in the vicinity, and are called raj-pundits. The thirty-one pundits in that quarter addiet themselves chiefly to the study of grammar, law, and the mythological poems. Logic and metaphysics are neglected, as well as astronomy and magic. In the western side of the district there are no less than thirty-three teachers within a small space, and there astrology as well as metaphysics is studied; mythological poems are not much read and magic is not known. The number of the teachers is owing to

the patronage of the Rajahs of Darbhanga to whom the greater part of the lands belong; but their patronage did not appear to be very efficacious, for, of the thirty-three Pundits in the whole territory west of the Kosi, only eight were considered well-versed in the sciences and learning, which they professed to teach, viz., one in logic and metaphysics; three in grammar, and four in astrology. All these are Mithila Pundits.

• Dr. Buchanan has communicated some details of the proportions in which the different branches of learning were studied. Eleven Pundits taught metaphysics; of these six confined themselves entirely to that branch; one also taught grammar, another added law; two others with law also read the *Sri bhagvut*; and one man included the whole of these within the range of his instructions. There were no less than thirty-one teachers of the law, of whom one only confined himself to that pursuit; twenty of them taught one additional science; and of these nineteen taught grammar, and one logic and metaphysics; eight taught two additional branches, of whom three taught grammar and explained the *bhagvut*, two taught logic and metaphysics and also explained the *bhagvut*, two taught grammar and the modern ritual, and one taught grammar and astronomy. Two taught three other branches, one explaining grammar, logic and the mythological poems, and the other substituting the modern ritual for logic. Of eleven teachers of the astronomical works, ten professed nothing else. Of seven persons who taught the modern ritual, one only confined himself to it, two professed the law, three taught grammar and the metaphysical poems, and six were proficient in grammar. Only five Pundits limited themselves to the teaching of grammar.

With regard to the state of medical education and practice, Dr. Buchanan ascertained that there were twenty-six Bengalee practitioners who used incantations (*muntras*); thirty-seven who rejected them and administered medicine; and five Mahomedan physicians who seemed to be little superior to the Hindoos. The doctrines of both are nearly the same, and seem to be founded on the school of Galen. Those who practice at large make from 10 to 20 Rupees a month. They do not keep their recipes or doctrines secret, but seemed to practice in a liberal manner, although without having gained a high reputation. A considerable number are servants, and attend on wealthy families for a monthly pension. Many of them cannot read. There is another class of medical practitioners who reject incantations and exhibit herbs. They have no books, and the greater part cannot read the vulgar tongue. They have been early instructed in the use of certain herbs in certain diseases. Dr. Buchanan heard of about 450 of them, but they seemed to be chiefly confined to the Hindoo divisions of the

district, and they are held in very low estimation. There is also a class of persons who profess to treat sores, but they are totally illiterate and destitute of science, nor do they perform any operation. They deal chiefly in oils. The only practitioner in surgery was an old woman, who had become reputed for extracting the stone from the bladder, which she performed after the manner of the ancients.

According to Dr. Buchanan the science of the Arabs has been exceedingly neglected in this district, so that very few even of the *kazis* are supposed to understand the koran or any Arabic work on grammar, law or metaphysics. He did not hear of one man who attempted to teach any of these branches of learning, and he expresses a doubt whether even one man employed in administering the Mahomedan law and born in the district was tolerably well-versed in the subject, or so well informed or liberally educated as the common attorneys in a country town or England.

## APPENDIX TO SECTION XIX.

Extract from General Statistical Table of Dr Buchanan's Report on the District or Zillah of Purnea.

Number.	Division	Number of people.	Proportion between number of		State of Education.		
			Moslems.	Hindoos.	Adhyapakas.	Akhans	Gurus.
1	Haveli	154,000	9	7	2	10	100
2	Dangrakhora	184,000	6	10	2	2	25
3	Gondwara	157,000	4	12	2	3	50
4	Dhamdaha	260,000	4	12	17	5	10
5	Diniya	142,000	4	12	16	10	100
6	Matryari	166,000	4	12	...	3	5
7	Arariya	142,000	8	8	2	...	...
8	Bahadurgunj	262,000	6	10	...	5	100
9	Udhrai	176,500	9	7	44	...	30
10	Krishnagunj	246,000	10	6	...	4	20
11	Dulalgunj	146,000	10	6	...	5	50
12	Nelmugar	185,000	10	6	...	2	6
13	Kharwa	96,000	6	10	1	2	13
14	Bholabat	122,880	6	10	49	3	60
15	Sibgunj	125,000	7	6	20	4	10
16	Kaliya Chak	98,000	7	9	2	4	50
17	Gorgurlah	114,000	6	10	2	4	10
18	Manihari	130,000	4	12	...	...	5
Total		2,904,380	123	165	119	66	643

Extract from Table No. 12. of Dr. Buchanan's Report on Purnea, explaining the state of Education among the People of that District.

	Haveli.	Mungrakhora.	Gondwara.	Dhamaidaha	Dimiya.	Matyari.	Arariya.	Bahadurgunj.	Udhrai.	Krishnagunj.	Dulagunj.	Nehargar.	Kharwa.	Bholahat.	Silgunj.	Kalya Chak.	Gorguribab.	Manihari.	Total.
Men capable of keeping common accounts.	2,800	500	1,500	350	750	1,400	350	1,500	1,000	1,200	1,550	150	200	3,750	900	350	700	200	18,650
Men who can sign their name	1,000	1,450	750	3,000	1,200	2,800	1,200	700	950	800	50	250	...	250	300	400	1,000	150	16,550
Men who can understand the common poetry.	200	100	150	200	250	350	50	100	70	100	...	...	60	...	...	200	...	...	1,830
Women who can understand the common poetry.	50	10	...	3	29	..	...	..	...	...	200	...	...	200	...	...	...	..	483



## SECTION XX.

## CONCLUSION.

It was my intention after treating of Bengal to extend this view of the state of Native education to Assam, Arracan, the conquests south of Rangoon, and the Straits Settlements ; to the Provinces of Behar, Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna, and the Saugor and Nerbudda territories. To arrange the materials I have collected for that purpose, would occupy the time which must be employed in filling the outline now sketched of the state of education in Bengal, and my first purpose, therefore, must for some time at least be postponed.

In preparing the present sketch I have sometimes feared that I was yielding to the temptation of unnecessary diffuseness ; but I am re-assured by observing that the sort of information which I have collected and placed upon record is precisely that which His Majesty's Government at home have in two different instances sought or desired to obtain. With a view of endeavouring to ascertain the statistics of education in England, the late Government in 1833 requested returns to be made to certain questions from each town, chapelry, and extra-parochial place in England and Wales, specifying the amount of the population ; the number of the schools, whether infant, daily or Sunday schools, established or dissenting, endowed or unendowed ; the numbers, sexes, and ages of the scholars ; the salaries and endowments of the teachers, &c., &c., &c. (*See Journal of Education No. XVII. for January 1835*). In a discussion which took place in the House of Lords on the 27th of February 1835, respecting the means of giving complete effect to the Act for the emancipation of slaves in the West Indies, the Secretary for the Colonies stated that " any plan of Government on the subject of education must be attended with considerable expense ; but he was anxious to see what could be done by the colonies themselves, by religious and patriotic societies, and by private individuals, before he called on Parliament for aid." It thus appears to be the deliberate and practical conviction of His Majesty's Government, both under the present and under the late administration, and with reference to England and Wales as well as to the West Indies, that the first step towards a national system is to ascertain what has been or can be done for the promotion of education by private means. In undertaking and prosecuting, therefore, the investigation of which I now present the first-fruits, we are encouraged by the example and stimulated by the declared opinions of His Majesty's Government, the gratifying spectacle being thus presented of similar and simultaneous efforts in England, in the West Indies, and in British India, to promote the great cause of general education.

CALCUTTA,  
The 1st February 1835. }

W. ADAM

REPORT  
ON THE  
STATE OF EDUCATION IN RAJSHAHI.

Submitted in 1836.

THE report on the State of Education dated 1st July 1835 presented a view of the information possessed on that subject at that date with reference to all the districts of Bengal; and the object of the report, now respectfully submitted to the General Committee of Public Instruction for the information of Government, is to fill up a small portion of the outline then sketched with ampler, and it is hoped more accurate, detail.

The district to which those details exclusively relate is that of Rajshahi, to which attention was, in the first place, directed on the following grounds:—The route prescribed to Dr. Francis Buchanan (Hamilton) in conducting the statistical investigations which he undertook by the orders of Government about 30 years ago, as quoted in the preface to the printed edition of his report on the district of Dinajpur, is described in these terms—"The Governor General in Council is of opinion that these inquiries should commence in the district of Rangpur, and that from thence you should proceed to the westward through each district on the north side of the Ganges until you reach the western boundary of the Honorable Company's provinces. You will then proceed towards the south and east until you have examined all the districts on the south of the great river, and afterwards proceed to Dacca side and the other districts towards the eastern frontier." In conformity with these instructions, Dr. Buchanan visited and examined the Bengal districts of Bangpur, Dinajpur, and Purniya; and when the route to be followed in the present inquiry came under consideration, it was proposed and sanctioned that the general course prescribed to Dr. Buchanan should be adopted—not retracing any of the ground already trodden by him, but beginning from the point in Bengal at which his labors appear to have been brought to a close. If his investigations had been prolonged, the district of Rajshahi, in pursuance of his instructions, would probably have received his earliest attention, and it has consequently formed the first subject of the present inquiry.

The appended tables relate only to one thana or police subdivision of that district. I at first contemplated the practicability of traversing the entire surface of every district, and of reporting on the state of education in every separate thana which it contained; but when I actually entered on the work, I found that an adherence to the instructions I have received would render this

impossible, or possible only with such a consumption of time and such a neglect of purposes of practical and immediate utility, as would tend to frustrate the object in view. My instructions state that "the General Committee deem it more important that the information obtained should be complete as far as it goes, clear and specific in its details, and depending upon actual observation or undoubted authority, than that you should hurry over a large space in a short time, and be able to give only a crude and imperfect account of the state of education within that space. With a view to ulterior measures, it is just as necessary to know the extent of the ignorance that prevails where education is wholly or almost wholly neglected, as to know the extent of the acquirements made where some attention is paid to it." The soundness of these views will not be disputed, but to extend over every sub-division of every district throughout the country, the minute enquiry which they prescribe is not the work of one man or of one life, but of several devoting their whole lives to the duty. Without attempting, therefore, what it would be impossible to accomplish, I have sought to fulfil the instructions of the Committee by thoroughly examining the state of education in one of the sub-divisions of the district which, with such qualifications as will appear to be necessary, may be taken as a sample of the whole; while, at the same time, the state of education generally, in the other sub-divisions, and of particular institutions worthy of note, has not been neglected.

## SECTION I.

### SUB-DIVISIONS AND POPULATION.

Rajshahi was formerly the most extensive district of Bengal, comprehending, according to Major Rennell's computation in 1784, 12,999 square miles; at which period also the population appears to have been estimated at 1,997,763. After that date several important pergunnahs were detached from it, and joined, it is believed, to the district of Moorsheadabad; and in 1801 the population of Rajshahi was estimated at 1,500,000. About twenty-five years ago, two thanas, viz., those of *Chapai* and *Rahanpur*, were, in respect of police and fiscal purposes, detached from Rajshahi, and employed with two from Dinajpur and four from Purniya to form the joint magistracy and deputy collectorship of *Malda*. About ten years after, four other thanas of Rajshahi, viz., those of *Adamdighi*, *Nakhila*, *Serpur*, and *Buggoorah*, with two from Rangpur and three from Dinajpur, were for the same administrative purposes, employed to form the joint magistracy and deputy collectorship of *Buggoorah*. Still more recently within the last seven and eight years, five other thanas, viz., those of *Shajatkur*, *Khetapara*,

Raigunge, Mathura, and Pubna, were in like manner separated from Rajshahi to contribute with four from Jessore to form the joint magistracy and deputy collectorship of Pubna. After these large reductions the district still contains ten thanas and three ghatis, in all thirteen police sub-divisions.

These sub-divisions are here enumerated in the order of their estimated relative territorial extent, beginning with the largest; viz., *thanas* Bhawanigunge, Hariyal, Nattore, Changaon, Bauleah, Bilmariya, Tannore, Manda, Dubalhati, and Godagari; and *ghatis* Puthiya, Surda, and Mirgunge. Of these *Nattore* is the most central, and is that to which the tables in the Appendix refer, being taken as a standard by which to judge of, the condition of the remaining sub-divisions. Its greatest length from north to south is estimated by well informed persons in the district at 22 miles, and its greatest breadth from east to west at 20 miles. These are estimated, not measured, distances, and may be a little below or a little above the truth; and even, if taken as strictly correct, they must be understood to express only the distance of the extreme and opposite limits without implying that the same length and breadth will be found at all points. As the different districts run into and dove-tail with one another, so do the different sub-divisions of the same district. The space, therefore, contained in the thana of Nattore will not be correctly judged from the extreme length and breadth which would make it equal to 440 square miles, whereas the actual area probably does not amount to more than 350. Comparing the other sub-divisions with Nattore, Bhawanigunge and Hariyal have each a larger extent of surface, but much of the former is occupied by jungle and of the latter by water, the *Chalan Bil*, the largest lake in Bengal, being principally included within its limits. Changaon and Bauleah are about equal in extent, and each rather smaller than Nattore; and Bilmariya and Tannore are one grade smaller. Manda is rather larger than Dubalhati or Godagari, the two latter being the smallest in size of the thanas. The ghatis are still smaller considered merely in reference to territorial extent, and of the three Puthiya is the largest. Besides Bhawanigunge, Manda, Tannore, Dubalhati and Godagari have much jungle in which the wolf and tiger have their haunts. The three ghatis are sections of contiguous thanas, placed under separate Native superintendents to give greater vigour and efficiency to the administration of the police.

About the end of 1834, Mr. Bury, the magistrate and collector of the district, caused returns to be made to him by the different *dāroghas*, showing the number of families—of men, women, and children—and of *chowkidars* in each thana. I was permitted to examine them, and the following are the result which they exhibit, omitting the column relating to *chowkidars*

## POPULATION RETURNS OF 1834.

Thanas.	Families.	Men.		Women.		Children.		Total of Inhabitants.
		Hindus.	Musalmans.	Hindus.	Musalmans.	Hindus.	Musalmans.	
Bhawanjunga ...	22,935	12,892	38,601	11,666	37,279	86,078	33,110	219,714
Nattore ...	27,504	21,030	42,046	21,578	42,522	20,226	38,012	185,409
Harlyal ..	21,715	17,417	29,962	17,764	29,680	14,589	29,205	138,617
Bauleah ..	15,776	10,760	20,438	11,309	24,228	15,058	17,938	99,721
Billmariya ..	9,707	12,864	20,459	11,603	10,081	8,474	16,548	88,529
Tannore ...	12,074	4,843	18,481	5,447	20,484	3,887	10,748	60,870
Chaugnon ...	11,797	8,151	15,371	8,540	14,721	4,921	10,357	62,061
Manda ...	9,336	7,314	11,090	7,355	11,644	4,227	8,001	50,231
Puthiya ...	6,978	3,856	11,035	3,833	11,054	3,510	11,381	44,660
Sarda ...	4,075	3,725	7,040	3,782	8,096	2,923	8,033	31,499
Dubalhatl ...	5,112	3,122	7,572	3,345	8,163	2,380	7,933	32,515
Mirgunge ...	3,769	2,640	4,423	2,922	4,650	1,845	4,408	20,888
Godagari ...	4,070	3,260	3,148	3,212	3,592	2,452	2,560	18,233

Although it is not expressly stated in the returns, yet it seems to have been generally understood that all who had entered on their sixteenth year were reckoned as men and women, and all who had not completed their fifteenth year were reckoned as children. The following is an abstract of the results thus obtained:—

1.—The total population of the district is 1,064,956 persons of both sexes and all ages.

2.—The total number of families is 155,454.

3.—The average number of persons in a family is thus 6,721, or rather more than 6½. It should be noted here that the term translated family or house is often employed to describe an aggregate of families, as when two or more married brothers live in a collection of huts or buildings having one enclosure, one entrance, and one court.

4.—The number of males above 15 years of age is 342,629.

5.—The number of females above 15 years of age is 347,545.

6.—The number of children below 16 years of age is 374,782.

7.—The number of Hindus is 394,272.

8.—The number of Musalmans is 670,684.

9. The proportion of Musalmans to Hindus is as 1,000 to 587·8.

I have given the preceding table and its results because they exhibit the latest official returns of the population of the district ; but I should add that the magistrate and collector expressed great doubt of the accuracy of the returns. The table contains internal evidence of error, of which the first series of figures relating to the thana of Bhawanigunge affords obvious examples. Thus in that police sub-division there are stated to be in all only 22,935 families, while the materials in men and women are at the same time said to exist of about 12,000 Hindu families and 38,000 Musalman families, in all 50,000 families—a difference which cannot be satisfactorily explained by supposing an unusually large number of widows and unmarried persons. Again, the Hindu men and women, are stated at about 12,000 each, and the Musalman men and women at about 38,000 each ; on the other hand the Hindu children are made to amount to 86,000, giving about seven children to each Hindu couple, while the Musalman children are made to amount to only 33,000, giving less than one child to each Musalman couple—an excess in the former case, a deficiency in the latter, and a disproportion between the two classes which are irreconcilable with all experience and probability. In point of fact there were no checks whatever employed to guard against error, the magistrate requiring the returns from the daroghas, and the daroghas from the zemindars ; the zemindars employing their gomasthas or factors ; and the gomasthas depending on the mondals or headmen and the chowkidars or watchmen of the villages for the desired information. Besides the unintentional errors that might be expected to arise in such a diluted process, executed in all its parts by ignorant and uninterested men, it is not improbably supposed that both landholders and cultivators are indisposed to make faithful returns whenever misrepresentation can escape detection. They have vague fears about the objects of such inquiries, the landholders apprehending an increase of assessment, the cultivators a requisition for their personal services, and both shrinking from that minute inspection of their condition which such inquiries involve. Without ample explanation, therefore, and without checks of any kind, it is vain to expect accuracy in such investigations.

While endeavouring to ascertain the amount of means employed for the instruction of the population of a given district, it is important to know how far those means come short of the object to be accomplished, *i. e.*, come short of giving instruction to the whole teachable population. With a view to this result, one of my first objects was to ascertain the number of children between 14 and five years of age, which, after consideration and enquiry, I assumed to be the teachable or school-going age. It was evident that, having to deal in this matter for the most part with

uninstructed villagers who, whatever their other virtues, are not remarkable for habits of accuracy and precision, they would be frequently apt to include under this age both adults above and children below it, unless I stimulated and aided their attention by requiring separate and distinct statements of the number of persons above 14 and below 5. Columns third and fifth, therefore, of Table I., were at first regarded only as auxiliary to the strict accuracy of the information contained in column fourth, which alone I considered as properly belonging to my enquiry.\* I mention this that I may not be supposed to have charged myself with a different duty, viz., the taking of a census of the population, from that which was entrusted to me, although I do not imagine that Government or the General Committee will regret the additional information thus supplied, besides that the conclusions reached in this way are indispensable to a correct appreciation of the amount of intellectual cultivation in the district.

In determining the number of children of the teachable age, it was obviously necessary to distinguish between boys and girls, and the distinction of sex was carried also into the other two columns. The results which the table seems to establish regarding the proportion of the sexes in Nattore are as follows:—The number of adult males is less than that of adult females, the former being only 59,500, while the latter is 61,428. On the other hand the number of non-adult males is greater than the number of non-adult females, the former being 41,079, while the latter is 33,289. Of the total population of Nattore, the number of males is 100,579, and that of females 94,717, which, disregarding fractional parts, gives 94 females to every 100 males, a proportion which, approaching very nearly to what is found to prevail where more attention has been paid to the statistics of population than in India, may be considered to derive from this coincidence a confirmation of its accuracy. I have said that Table I. “seems to establish” these results, for highly estimating the importance of the strictest accuracy in such inquiries, I do not wish to conceal the fact that, new to the work in which I engaged, and guided only by my own unaided judgment, I did not at first employ all those guards against error which afterwards occurred to me. I do not, therefore, place absolute confidence in the conclusions to which I have come respecting the population of Nattore, but at the same time I do not think that they can be very remote from the truth.

According to the loose and unchecked returns of 1834, the total population of Nattore was 185,409; and according to the most diligent and careful examination that I have been able to make, it amounts to 195,296, making a difference of excess in my estimate amounting to 9,887. If we suppose a proportional deficiency in all the returns of 1834, then the total population of the district will amount to 1,121,745. It cannot, I think, be less;

and I am strongly led to believe that this number falls considerably short of the truth. After various inquiries, and a comparison of different statements, intelligent natives, possessing extensive local knowledge, have expressed the opinion that, from all the police sub-divisions, nine might be formed, each having a population about equal to that of Nattore. To guard against the operation of unperceived causes of error, let the number be reduced to eight, merging in them the population of the remaining five and the excess of the population of Bhawanigunge above that of Nattore, the entire population of the district will thus be eight times that of Nattore; that is, it will amount to 1,562,368, or rather more than a million and a half. If, as is probable, this estimate is nearly correct, it follows either that former estimates were very erroneous, or that the population has greatly increased since they were made. It has been already mentioned that, in 1801, the population of the district was estimated at 1,500,000, and that, within the last twenty-five years, not fewer than eleven thanas, containing, it is probable, about half its territory and population, have been at different periods detached from the jurisdiction of the collector and magistracy of Rajshahi; and yet it is after all these reductions that the district as now constituted is estimated to contain a population fully equal to that which it was supposed to contain before the reductions were made.

Connected with the question of the population of the district is the distribution of it into the two great divisions of Hindus and Musalmans; the relative proportion of these two classes being not an unimportant subject of inquiry, with a view to forming a correct judgment of the nature and amount of the prejudices to be met in the execution of any measure affecting the body of the people, such as the adoption of means for the promotion of general education. Before visiting Rajshahi, I had been led to suppose that it was a peculiarly Hindu district. Hamilton on official authority states the proportion to be that of two Hindus to one Musalman; and in a work published by the Calcutta School Book Society for the use of schools (1827), the proportion is said to be that of ten Hindus to six Musalmans. Table I. shows that, in the Nattore thana, there are 10,095 Hindu families, while the number of Musalman families is not less than 19,933, just reversing the proportion and making one Hindu for about two Musalman families. I omitted to ascertain by actual enumeration the number of Hindu and Mahomedan persons separately contained in the above-mentioned number of Hindu and Mahomedan families, and I can, therefore, only estimate the probable number of individuals of each class. The total number of individuals is 125,296, and of families 30,028, which gives the high average of 6.5 individuals to each family. This gives an average of 65,656 Hindus to 129,640 Mahomedans, making the proportion of Mahomedans to Hindus as 1,000 to 506,455. Nattore is in



this respect not an exception to the other thanas. According to the opinions I have been able to collect, the thanas of Bhawani-gunge, Hariyal, Chaugاون, Bilmariya, and Bauleah, are considered to have nearly an equal proportion of Musalmans with Nattore, which latter, if any difference exist, is believed to have rather a larger proportion of Hindus than any of the five former; while in Manda, Tannore, Dubalhati, and Godagari, the proportion of Musalmans is alleged to be in excess of what it is in all the others, certainly amounting to not less than three to one Hindu. If we assume that the first-mentioned six thanas have the proportion of two Musalmans to one Hindu, and the four last-mentioned that of three to one, the aggregate average will be that of seven to three, or the proportion of 1,000 Musalmans to 450 Hindus. The returns of 1834 make the proportion to be that of 1,000 to 587, which is the highest proportion of Hindus that can be assumed. It is not difficult to perceive how a contrary impression has gained ground among the European functionaries, and from them, has been transferred to the publications of the day. The Hindus, with exceptions of course, are the principal zemindars, talookdars, public officers, men of learning, money-lenders, traders, shop-keepers, &c., engaging in the most active pursuits of life, and coming directly and frequently under the notice of the rulers of the country; while the Musalmans, with exceptions also, form a very large majority of the cultivators of the ground and of day-laborers, and others engage in the very humblest forms of mechanical skill and of buying and selling, as tailors, turban-makers, makers of huqqa-snakes, dyers, wood-polishers, oil sellers, sellers of vegetables, fish, &c.,—in few instances attracting the attention of those who do not mix much with the humbler classes of the people, or make special inquiry into their occupations and circumstances.

## SECTION II.

### ELEMENTARY INSTRUCTION.

Elementary instruction in this district is divisible into two sorts, public and private, according as it is communicated in public schools or private families. The distinction is not always strictly maintained, but it is sufficiently marked, and is in itself so important as to require that these two modes of conveying elementary instruction to the young should be separately considered.

I. *Elementary Schools.*—These are enumerated and described in the Tables as of two denominations, viz., Hindu and Mahomedan,—there being in Nattore, of the former, 11 schools, containing 192 scholars; and of the latter 16, containing 70 scholars, which gives an average of  $17\frac{1}{11}$  scholars in each of the one sort, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  scholars in each of the other. This was the only division that occurred to me at the commencement of the inquiry; but an

inspection and comparison of the different institutions suggest that a more correct view of the state of elementary scholastic instruction will be conveyed by distributing them into four classes, according to the languages employed in them, viz.—first, Bengali; second, Persian; third Arabic; and fourth, Persian and Bengali, with or without Arabic.

1. *Elementary Bengali Schools.*—It is expressly prescribed by the authorities of Hindu law that children should be initiated in writing and reading in their fifth year; or, if this should have been neglected, then in the seventh, ninth, or any subsequent year, being an odd number. Certain months of the year, and certain days of the month and week, are also prescribed as propitious to such a purpose; and, on the day fixed, a religious service is performed in the family by the family-priest, consisting principally of the worship of *Saraswati*, the goddess of learning, after which the hand of the child is guided by the priest to form the letters of the alphabet, and he is also then taught, for the first time, to pronounce them. This ceremony is not of indispensable obligation on Hindus, and is performed only by those parents who possess the means and intention of giving their children more extended instruction. It is strictly the commencement of the child's school education, and in some parts of the country he is almost immediately sent to school; but in this district I do not find that there is any determinate age for that purpose. It seems to be generally regulated by the means and opportunities of the parent and by the disposition and capacity of the child; and as there is a specified routine of instruction, the age of leaving school must depend upon the age of commencement.

The Bengali schools in Nattore are ten in number, containing 167 scholars, who enter school at an age varying from five to ten years, and leave it at an age varying from ten to sixteen. The whole period spent at school also varies, according to the statements of the different teachers, from five to ten years; two stating that their instructions occupied five years, one six years, three seven years, two eight years, one nine years, and one ten years—an enormous consumption of time, especially at the more advanced ages, considering the nature and amount of the instruction communicated.

The teachers consist both of young and middle-aged men, for the most part simple-minded, but poor and ignorant, and, therefore, having recourse to an occupation which is suitable both to their expectations and attainments, and on which they reflect as little honor as they derive emolument from it; they do not understand the importance of the task they have undertaken; they do not appear to have made it even a subject of thought; they do not appreciate the great influence which they might exert over the minds of their pupils; and they consequently neglect the highest duties which their situation would impose, if they were better

acquainted with their powers and obligations. At present they produce chiefly a mechanical effect upon the intellect of their pupils which is worked upon and chiseled out, and that in a very rough style, but which remains nearly passive in their hands, and is seldom taught or encouraged to put forth its self-acting and self-judging capacities. As to any moral influence of the teachers over the pupils—any attempt to form the sentiments and habits, and to control and guide the passions and emotions—such a notion never enters into their conceptions, and the formation of the moral character of the young is consequently wholly left to the influence of the casual associations amidst which they are placed, without any endeavour to modify or direct them. Any measures that may be adopted to improve education in this country will be greatly inadequate if they are not directed to increase the attainments of the teachers, and to elevate and extend their views of the duties belonging to their vocation.

The remuneration of the teachers is derived from various sources. Two teachers have their salaries wholly, and another receives his in part, from benevolent individuals who appear to be influenced only by philanthropic motives ; a fourth is remunerated solely in the form of fees ; and the remaining six are paid partly by fees and partly by perquisites. There are in general four stages or gradations in the course of instruction dictated by the nature of the materials employed for writing on, viz., the ground, the palm-leaf, the plantain-leaf, and paper ; and at the commencement of each stage after the first a higher fee is charged. In one instance the first and second stages are merged into one ; in another instance the same fee is charged for the third and fourth ; and in a third, the first, second, and third stages are equally charged ; but the rule I have stated is observed in a majority of cases, and partially even in those exceptions. Another mode, adopted in two instances, of regulating the fees is according to the means of the parents whose children are instructed ; a half, a third, or a fourth less being charged to the children of poor than to the children of rich parents in the successive stages of instruction. The perquisites of the teachers vary from four annas to five rupees a month ; in the former case consisting of a piece of cloth or other occasional voluntary gift from the parents ; and in the latter, or in similar cases, of food alone, or of food, washing, and all personal expenses, together with occasional presents. Those who receive food as a perquisite either live in the house of one of the principal supporters of the school, or visit the houses of the different parents by turns at meal-times. The total income of the teachers from fixed salaries and fluctuating fees and perquisites varies from three rupees eight annas to seven rupees eight annas per month, the average being rather more than five rupees per month.

The school at Dharail (No. 34) affords a good specimen of the mode in which a small native community unite to support a school. At that place there are four families of Chaudhuris, the principal persons in the village ; but they are not so wealthy as to be able to support a teacher for their children without the co-operation of others. They give the teacher an apartment in which his scholars may meet, one of the outer apartments of their own house in which business is sometimes transacted, and at other times worship performed and strangers entertained. One of those families further pays four annas a month, a second an equal sum, a third eight annas, and a fourth twelve annas, which include the whole of their disbursements on this account, ~~no~~ presents or perquisites of any kind being received from them, and for the sums mentioned their five children receive a Bengali education. The amount thus obtained, however, is not sufficient for the support of the teacher, and he, therefore, receives other scholars belonging to other families—of whom one gives one anna, another gives three annas, and five give each four annas a month, to which they add voluntary presents amounting per month to about four annas, and consisting of vegetables, rice, fish, and occasionally a piece of cloth, such as a handkerchief of an upper or under garment. Five boys of Kagbariya, the children of two families, attend the Dharail school, the distance being about a mile, which, in the rainy season, can be travelled only by water. Of the five, two belonging to one family give together two annas, and the three others belonging to the other family give together four annas a month, and thus the whole income of the master is made up. This case shows by what pinched and stinted contributions the class just below the wealthy and the class just above the indigent unite to support a school ; and it constitutes a proof of the very limited means of those who are anxious to give a Bengali education to their children, and of the sacrifices which they make to accomplish that object.

I have spoken of the emoluments of the teachers as low ; but I would be understood to mean that they are low, not in comparison with their qualifications, or with the general rates of similar labor in the district, but with those emoluments to which competent men might be justly considered entitled. The humble character of the men, and the humble character of the service they render, may be judged from the fact already stated, that some of them go about from house to house to receive their daily food. All, however, should not be estimated by this standard ; and perhaps a generally correct opinion of their relative position in society may be formed by comparing them with those persons who have nearly similar duties to perform in other occupations of life, or whose duties the teachers of the common schools could probably in most instances perform if they were called on to do so. Such, for instance, are the

*Patwari*, the *Amin*, the *Shumarnavis*, and the *Khamarnavis* employed on a native estate. The *Patwari*, who goes from house to house, and collects the zemindar's rents, gets from his employer a salary of two rupees eight annas, or three rupees a month, to which may be added numerous presents from the ryots of the first productions of the season, amounting probably to eight annas a month. The *Amin*, who on behalf of the zemindar decides the disputes that take place among the villagers and measures their grounds, gets from three rupees eight annas to four rupees a month. The *Shumarnavis*, who keeps accounts of the collection of rents by the different *Patwaris*, receives about five rupees a month. And the *Khamarnavis*, who is employed to ascertain the state and value of the crops on which the zemindar has claims in kind, receives the same allowance. Persons bearing these designations and discharging these duties sometimes receive higher salaries; but the cases I have supposed are those with which that of the common native school-master may be considered as on a level, he being supposed capable of undertaking their duties, and they of undertaking his. The holders of these offices on a native estate have opportunities of making unauthorised gains, and they enjoy a respectability and influence which the native school-master does not possess; but in other respects they are nearly on an equality; and, to compensate for those disadvantages, the salary of the common school-master is in general rather higher,—none of those whom I met in Nattore receiving in all less than three rupees eight annas, and some receiving as high as seven rupees eight annas a month.

There are no school-houses built for, and exclusively appropriated to, these schools. The apartments or buildings in which the scholars assemble would have been erected, and would continue to be applied to other purposes, if there were no schools. Some meet in the *Chandli Mandap*, which is of the nature of a chapel belonging to some one of the principal families in the village, and in which, besides the performance of religious worship on occasion of the great annual festivals, strangers also are sometimes lodged and entertained, and business transacted; others in the *Baithak-khana*, an open hut principally intended as a place of recreation and of concourse for the consideration of any matters relating to the general interests of the village; others in the private dwelling of the chief supporter of the school; and others have no special place of meeting, unless it be the most vacant and protected spot in the neighbourhood of the master's abode. The school (a) in the village numbered 4 meets in the open air in the dry seasons of the year; and in the rainy season those boys whose parents can afford it erect each for himself a small shed of grass and leaves, open at the sides and barely adequate at the top to cover one person from the rain. There were five or six such sheds among 30 or 40 boys; and those who had no protection, if it rained, must either have

been dispersed or remained exposed to the storm. It is evident that the general efficiency and regularity of school-business, which are promoted by the adaptation of the school-room to the enjoyment of comfort by the scholars, to full inspection on the part of the teacher, and to easy communication on all sides, must here be in a great measure unknown.

Respecting the nature and amount of the instruction received, the first fact to be mentioned is that the use of printed books in the native language appears hitherto to have been almost wholly unknown to the natives of this district, with the exception of a printed almanac which some official or wealthy native may have procured from Calcutta; or a stray missionary tract which may have found its way across the great river from the neighbouring district of Moorshedabad. A single case of each kind came under observation; but as far as I could ascertain, not one of the schoolmasters had ever before seen a printed book,—those which I presented to them from the Calcutta School Book Society being viewed more as curiosities than as instruments of knowledge. That Society has now established an agency for the sale of its publications at Banleah, whence works of instruction will probably in time spread over the district.

Not only are printed books not used in these schools, but even manuscript text-books, are unknown. All that the scholars learn is from the oral dictation of the master, and although what is so communicated must have a firm seat in the memory of the teacher, and will probably find an equally firm seat in the memory of the scholar, yet instruction conveyed solely by such means must have a very limited scope. The principal written composition which they learn in this way is the *Saraswati Bandana*, or salutation to the Goddess of Learning, which is committed to memory by frequent repetitions, and is daily recited by the scholars in a body before they leave school,—all kneeling with their heads bent to the ground, and following a leader or monitor in the pronunciation of the successive lines or couplets. I have before me two versions or forms of this salutation obtained at different places; but they are quite different from each other, although described by the same name, and both are doggerels of the lowest description even amongst Bengali compositions. The only other written composition used in these schools, and that only in the way of oral dictation by the master, consists of a few of the rhyming arithmetical rules of *Subhankar*, a writer whose name is as familiar in Bengal as that of Cocker in England, without any one knowing who or what he was or when he lived. It may be inferred that he lived, or if not a real personage that the rhymes bearing that name were composed, before the establishment of the British rule in this country, and during the existence of the Musalman power, for they are full of Hindustani or Persian terms, and contain references to Mahomedan usages without

the remotest allusion to English practices or modes of calculation. A recent native editor has deemed it requisite to remedy this defect by a supplement.

It has been already mentioned that there are four different stages in a course of Bengali instruction. The *first* period seldom exceeds ten days, which are employed in teaching the young scholars to form the letters of the alphabet on the ground with a small stick or slip of bambu. The sand-board is not used in this district, probably to save expense. The *second* period, extending from two and a half to four years according to the capacity of the scholar, is distinguished by the use of the palm-leaf as the material on which writing is performed. Hitherto the mere form and sound of the letters have been taught without regard to their size and relative proportion; but the master with an iron-style now writes on the palm-leaf letters of a determinate size and in due proportion to each other, and the scholar is required to trace them on the same leaf with a reed-pen and with charcoal-ink which easily rubs out. This process is repeated over and over again on the same leaf until the scholar no longer requires the use of the copy to guide him in the formation of the letters of a fit size and proportion, and he is consequently next made to write them on another leaf which has no copy to direct him. He is afterwards exercised in writing and pronouncing the compound consonants, the syllables formed by the junction of vowels with consonants, and the most common names of persons. In other parts of the country, the names of castes, rivers, mountains, &c., are written as well as of persons, but here the names of persons only are employed as a school-exercise. The scholar is then taught to write and read, and by frequent repetition he commits to memory the Cowrie Table, the Numeration Table as far as 100, the Katha Table, (a land-measure table,) and the Ser Table, (a dry-measure table.) There are other tables in use elsewhere which are not taught in the schools of this district. The *third* stage of instruction extends from two to three years which are employed in writing on the plantain-leaf. In some districts the tables just mentioned are postponed to this stage, but in this district they are included in the exercises of the second stage. The first exercise taught on the plantain-leaf is to initiate the scholar into the simplest forms of letter-writing, to instruct him to connect words in composition with each other, and to distinguish the written from the spoken forms of Bengali vocables. The written forms are often abbreviated in speech by the omission of a vowel or a consonant, or by the running of two syllables into one, and the scholar is taught to use in writing the full not the abbreviated forms. The correct orthography of words of Sanserit origin which abound in the language of the people, is beyond the reach of the ordinary class of teachers. About the same time the scholar is taught the rules of arithmetic, beginning with

addition and subtraction, but multiplication and division are not taught as separate rules,—all the arithmetical processes hereafter mentioned being effected by addition and subtraction, with the aid of a multiplication table which extends to the number 20, and which is repeated aloud once every morning by the whole school and is thus acquired not as a separate task by each boy, but by the mere force of joint repetition and mutual imitation. After addition and subtraction, the arithmetical rules taught divide themselves into two classes, agricultural and commercial, in one or both of which instruction is given more or less fully according to the capacity of the teacher and the wishes of the parents. The rules applied to agricultural accounts explain the forms of keeping debit and credit accounts; the calculation of the value of daily or monthly labor at a given monthly or annual rate; the calculation of the area of land whose sides measure a given number of kathas or bighas; the description of the boundaries of land and the determination of its length, breadth, and contents, and the form of revenue accounts for a given quantity of land. There are numerous other forms of agricultural account, but no others appear to be taught in the schools of this district. The rules of commercial accounts explain the mode of calculating the value of a given number of sets at a given price per maund, the price of a given number of quarters and chataks at a given price per set, the price of a tola at a given rate per chatak, the number of cowries in a given number of annas at a given number of cowries per rupee, the interest of money, and the discount chargeable on the exchange of the inferior sorts of rupees. There are other forms of commercial account also in common use, but they are not taught in the schools. The *fourth* and last stage of instruction generally includes a period of two years, often less and seldom more. The accounts briefly and superficially taught in the preceding stage are now taught more thoroughly and at greater length, and this is accompanied by the composition of business letters, petitions, grants, leases, acceptances, notes of hand, &c., together with the forms of address belonging to the different grades of rank and station. When the scholars have written on paper about a year, they are considered qualified to engage in the unassisted pursuit of Bengali works, and they often read at home such productions as the translation of the *Ramayana*, *Manava Mangal*, &c., &c.

This sketch of a course of Bengali instruction must be regarded rather as what it is intended to be than what it is, for most of the school-masters whom I have seen, as far as I could judge from necessarily brief and limited opportunities of observation, were unqualified to give all the instruction here described, although I have thus placed the amount of their pretensions on record. All, however, do not even pretend to teach the whole of what is here enumerated, some, as will be seen from Table II.,



professing to limit themselves to agricultural, and others to include commercial, accounts. The most of them appeared to have a very superficial acquaintance with both.

With the exception of the Multiplication Table, the rhyming arithmetical rules of Subhankar, and the form of address to Saraswati, all which the younger scholars learn by the mere imitation of sounds incessantly repeated by the elder boys, without for a long time understanding what those sounds convey—with these exceptions, native school-boys learn every thing that they do learn not merely by reading but by writing it. They read to the master or to one of the oldest scholars what they have previously written, and thus the hand, the eye, and the ear are equally called into requisition. This appears preferable to the mode of early instruction current amongst ourselves, according to which the elements of language are first taught only with the aid of the eye and the ear, and writing is left to be subsequently acquired. It would thus appear also that the statement which represents the native system as teaching chiefly by the ear, to the neglect of the eye, is founded on a misapprehension, for how can the aid of the eye be said to be neglected when, with the exceptions above-mentioned, nothing appears to be learned which is not rendered palpable to the sense by the act of writing? It is almost unnecessary to add that the use of monitors or leaders has long prevailed in the common schools of India, and is well known in those of Bengal.

The disadvantages arising from the want of school-houses and from the confined and inappropriate construction of the buildings or apartments used as school-rooms have already been mentioned. Poverty still more than ignorance leads to the adoption of modes of instruction and economical arrangements which, under more favorable circumstances, would be readily abandoned. In the matter of instruction there are some grounds for commendation, for the course I have described has a direct practical tendency; and, if it were taught in all its parts, is well adapted to qualify the scholar for engaging in the actual business of native society. My recollections of the village schools of Scotland do not enable me to pronounce that the instruction given in them has a more direct bearing upon the daily interests of life than that which I find given, or professed to be given, in the humbler village schools of Bengal.

Although improvements might no doubt be made both in the modes and in the matter of instruction, yet the chief evils in the system of common Bengali schools consist less in the nature of that which is taught or in the manner of teaching it, as in the absence of that which is not taught at all. The system is bad because it is greatly imperfect. What is taught should, on the whole, continue to be taught, but something else should be added to it in order to constitute it a system of salutary popular instruc-

tion. No one will deny that a knowledge of Bengali writing and of native accounts is requisite to natives of Bengal; but when these are made the substance and sum of popular instruction and knowledge, the popular mind is necessarily cabined, cribbed, and confined within the smallest possible range of ideas, and those of the most limited local and temporary interest, and it fails even to acquire those habits of accuracy and precision which the exclusive devotion to forms of calculation might seem fitted to produce. What is wanted is something to awaken and expand the mind, to unshackle it from the trammels of mere usage, and to teach it to employ its own powers; and, for such purposes, the introduction into the system of common instruction of some branch of knowledge in itself perfectly useless (if such a one could be found,) would at least rouse and interest by its novelty, and in this way be of some benefit. Of course the benefit would be much greater if the supposed new branch of knowledge were of a useful tendency, stimulating the mind to the increased observation and comparison of external objects, and throwing it back upon itself with a large stock of materials for thought. A higher intellectual cultivation however is not all that is required. That to be beneficial to the individual and to society must be accompanied by the cultivation of the moral sentiments and habits. Here the native system presents a perfect blank. The hand, the eye, and the ear, are employed, the memory is a good deal exercised; the judgment is not wholly neglected, and the religious sentiment is early and perseveringly cherished, however misdirected. But the passions and affections are allowed to grow up wild without any thought of putting their luxuriances or directing their exercise to good purposes. Hence, I am inclined to believe, the infrequency in native society of enlarged views of moral and social obligation, and hence the corresponding radical defect of the native character which appears to be that of a narrow and contracted selfishness, naturally arising from the fact that the young mind is seldom, if ever, taught to look for the means of its own happiness and improvement in the indulgence of benevolent feelings and the performance of benevolent acts to those who are beyond a certain pale. The radical defect of the system of elementary instruction seems to explain the radical defect of the native character; and if I have rightly estimated cause and effect, it follows that no material improvement of the native character can be expected, and no improvement whatever of the system of elementary education will be sufficient, without a large infusion into it of moral instruction that shall always connect in the mind of the pupil, with the knowledge which he acquires, some useful purpose to which it may be and ought to be applied, not necessarily productive of personal gain or advantage to himself.

2. *Elementary Persian Schools*.—The Persian schools in Nattore are four in number, containing twenty-three scholars,

who enter school at an age varying from four and a half to thirteen years, and leave it at an age varying from twelve to seventeen. The whole time stated to be spent at school varies from four to eight years. The teachers intellectually are of a higher grade than the teachers of Bengali schools, although that grade is not high compared with what is to be desired and is attainable. Morally, they appear to have as little notion as Bengali teachers of the salutary influence they might exercise on the dispositions and characters of their pupils. They have no fees from the scholars, and are paid in the form of fixed monthly allowances with perquisites. The monthly allowances vary from one rupee eight annas to four rupees, and they are paid by one, two, or three families, who are the principal supporters of the school. The perquisites, which are estimated at two rupees eight annas to six rupees a month, and consist of food, washing, and other personal expenses, are provided either by the same parties or by those parents who do not contribute to the monthly allowance. The total remuneration of a teacher varies from four to ten rupees per month, averaging about seven rupees. The principal object of the patrons of these schools is the instruction of their own children; but in one instance a worthy old Musalman, who has no children, contributes a small monthly allowance, without which the teacher would not have sufficient inducement to continue his labors; and in another case besides two children of the family, ten other boys are admitted, on whom instruction, food, and clothing, are gratuitously bestowed. Two of the schools have separate school-houses, which were built by the benevolent patrons who principally support them. The scholars of the other two assemble in out-buildings, belonging to one or other of the families whose children receive instruction.

Although in the Persian schools printed books are unknown, yet manuscript works are in constant use. The general course of instruction has no very marked stages or gradations into which it is divided. Like the Hindus, however, the Musulmans formally initiate their children into the study of letters. When a child, whether a boy or a girl, is four years, four months, and four days old, the friends of the family assemble, and the child is dressed in his best clothes, brought in to the company, and seated on a cushion in the presence of all. The alphabet, the form of letters used for computation, the Introduction to the Koran, some verses of Chapter LV., and the whole of Chapter LXXXVII, are placed before him, and he is taught to pronounce them in succession. If the child is self-willed, and refuses to read, he is made to pronounce the Bismillah, which answers every purpose, and from that day his education is deemed to have commenced. At school he is taught the alphabet, as with ourselves, by the eye and ear, the forms of the letters being presented to him in writing, and their names pronounced in his hearing, which he is required to repeat

until he is able to connect the names and the forms with each other in his mind. The scholar is afterwards made to read the thirtieth Section of the Koran, the chapters of which are short, and are generally used at the times of prayer and in the burial service. The words are marked with the diacritical points in order that the knowledge of letters, their junction and correct orthography, and their pronunciation from the appropriate organs may be thoroughly acquired; but the sense is entirely unknown. The next book put into his hands is the *Pandnameh* of Sadi, a collection of moral sayings, many of which are above his comprehension, but he is not taught or required to understand any of them. The work is solely used for the purpose of instructing him in the art of reading and of forming a correct pronunciation, without any regard to the sense of the words pronounced. It is generally after this that the scholar is taught to write the letters, to join vowels and consonants, and to form syllables. The next book is the *Amadnameh*, exhibiting the forms of conjugating the Persian verbs which are read to the master and by frequent repetition committed to memory. The first book which is read for the purpose of being understood is the *Gulistan* of Sadi, containing lessons on life and manners, and this is followed or accompanied by the *Bostan* of the same author. Two or three sections of each are read; and simultaneously short Persian sentences relating to going and coming, sitting and standing, and the common affairs of life, are read and explained. The pupil is afterwards made to write Persian names, then Arabic names, and next Hindi names, especially such as contain letters to the writing, or pronunciation of which difficulty is supposed to attach. Elegant penmanship is considered a great accomplishment, and those who devote themselves to this art employ from three to six hours every day in the exercise of it, writing first single letters, then double or treble, then couplets, quatrains, &c. They first write upon a board with a thick pen, then with a finer pen on pieces of paper pasted together; and last of all, when they have acquired considerable command of the pen, they begin to write upon paper in single fold. This is accompanied or followed by the perusal of some of the most popular poetical productions such as *Joseph* and *Zuleikha*, founded on a well-known incident in Hebrew history; the loves of *Leila* and *Majnun*; the *Serandar Nameh*, an account of the exploits of Alexander the Great, &c., &c. The mode of computing by the *Ahjad*, or letters of the alphabet, is also taught, and is of two sorts; in the first, the letters of the alphabet in the order of the *Ahjad* being taken to denote units, tens, and hundreds to a thousand; and in the second the letters composing the names of the letters of the alphabet being employed for the same purpose. Arithmetic, by means of the Arabic numerals, and instruction at great length in the different styles of address, and in the forms of correspondence, petitions &c., &c., complete a course of Persian instruction. But in the

Persian schools of this district, this course is very superficially taught, and some of the teachers do not even profess to carry their pupils beyond the *Gulistan* and *Bostan*.

In a Persian school, after the years of mere childhood, when the pupils are assumed to be capable of stricter application, the hours of study with intervals extend from six in the morning to nine at night. In the first place in the morning they revise the lessons of the previous day, after which a new lesson is read, committed to memory, and repeated to the master. About mid-day they have leave of absence for an hour when they dine, and on their return to school they are instructed in writing. About three o'clock they have another reading lesson which is also committed to memory, and about an hour before the close of day they have leave to play. The practice with regard to the forenoon and afternoon lessons in reading is to join the perusal of a work in prose with that of a work in verse; as the *Gulistan* with the *Bostan* and *Abulfazl's* letters with the *Secandur Nameh*, the forenoon lesson being taken from one and the afternoon lesson from the other. In the evening they repeat the lessons of that day several times, until they have them perfectly at command; and, after making some preparation for the lessons of the next day, they have leave to retire. Thursday every week is devoted to the revision of old lessons; and when that is completed, the pupils seek instruction or amusement according to their own pleasure in the perusal of forms of prayer and stanzas of poetry, and are dismissed on that day at three o'clock without any new lesson. On Friday, the sacred day of Musalmans, there is no schooling. In other districts in respectable or wealthy Musalman families, besides the literary instructor called *Myan* or *Akhun*, there is also a domestic tutor or *Censor Morum* called *Atalik*, a kind of head-servant, whose duty it is to train the children of the family to good manners, and to see that they do not neglect any duty assigned to them; but I do not find any trace of this practice in Rajshahi.

Upon the whole the course of Persian instruction, even in its less perfect forms such as are found to exist in this district, has a more comprehensive character and a more liberal tendency than that pursued in the Bengali schools. The systematic use of books, although in manuscript, is a great step in advance, 'accustoming the minds of the pupils to forms of regular composition, to correct and elegant language, and to trains of consecutive thought, and thus aiding both to stimulate the intellect and to form the taste. It might be supposed that the moral bearing of some of the text books would have a beneficial effect on the character of the pupils; but as far as I have been able to observe or ascertain, those books are employed like all the rest solely for the purpose of conveying lessons in language—lessons in the knowledge of sounds and words, in the construction of sentences, or in anecdotal information, but not for the purpose of sharpening the moral perceptions

or strengthening the moral habits. This in general native estimation does not belong to the business of instruction, and it never appears to be thought of or attempted. Others will judge from their own observation and experience whether the Musalman character, as we see it in India, has been formed or influenced by such a course of instruction. The result of my own observations is that of two classes of persons, one exclusively educated in Mahomedan, and the other in Hindu literature; the former appears to me to possess an intellectual superiority, but the moral superiority does not seem to exist.

3. *Elementary Arabic Schools.*—The Arabic schools, or schools for instruction in the formal or ceremonial reading of certain passages of the Koran, are eleven in number, and contain 42 scholars, who begin to read at an age varying from 7 to 14, and leave school at an age varying from 8 to 18. The whole time stated to be spent at school varies from one to five years. The teachers possess the lowest degree of attainment to which it is possible to assign the task of instruction. They do not pretend to be able even to sign their names; and they disclaim altogether the ability to understand that which they read and teach. The mere forms, names, and sounds, of certain letters and combinations of letters they know and teach, and what they teach is all that they know of written language, without presuming, or pretending, or aiming to elicit the feeblest glimmering of meaning from these empty vocables. This whole class of schools is as consummate a burlesque upon mere forms of instruction, separate from a rational meaning and purpose, as can well be imagined. The teachers are all *Kath-Mollas*, that is, the lowest grade of Musalman priests who chiefly derive their support from the ignorance and superstition of the poor classes of their co-religionists; and the scholars are in training for the same office. The portion of the Koran which is taught is that which begins with Chapter LXXVIII. of Sale's Koran, and extends to the close of the volume. The Mollas, besides teaching a few pupils the formal reading of this portion of the Koran, perform the marriage ceremony, for which they are paid from one to eight annas according to the means of the party; and also the funeral service with prayers for the dead continued from one to forty days, for which they get from two annas to one rupee, and it is in these services that the formal reading of the Koran is deemed essential. The Mollas also often perform the office of the village butcher, killing animals for food with the usual religious forms, without which their flesh cannot be eaten by Musalmans; but for this they take no remuneration. In several cases, the teacher of the school depends for his livelihood on employment at marriages and burials, giving his instructions as a teacher gratuitously. In one instance a fixed allowance is received from the patron of the school, fees from some of the scholars, and perquisites besides, amounting in all to four rupees

eight annas per month, and in this case the patron professes the intention to have the scholars hereafter taught Persian and Bengali. In another the patron merely lodges, feeds, and clothes, the teacher who receives neither fixed allowance nor fees. In three instances the only remuneration the teacher receives is a *salami*, or present of five or six rupees, from each scholar when he finally leaves school. In two instances the teachers have small farms from which they derive the means of subsistence in addition to their gains as Mollahs. They give instruction either in their own houses, or in school-houses, which are also applied to the purposes of prayer and hospitality and of assembly on occasions of general interest.

No institutions can be more insignificant and useless, and in every respect less worthy of notice, than these Arabic schools, viewed as places of instruction; but, however worthless in themselves, they have a certain hold on the Native mind, which is proved by the increased respect and emolument as Mollahs, expected and acquired by some of the teachers on account of the instruction they give; the expense incurred by others of them, in erecting school-houses; and by the general employment by the Musalman population of those who receive and communicate the slender education which these schools bestow. In the eye of the philanthropist or the statesman no institution, however humble, will be overlooked, by which he may hope beneficially to influence the condition of any portion of mankind; and it is just in proportion to the gross ignorance of the multitude that he will look with anxiety for any loop-holes by which he may find an entrance to their understandings—some institutions, which are held by them in veneration and which have hitherto served the cause of ignorance, but which he may hope with discretion to turn to the service of knowledge. I do not despair that means might be employed, simple, cheap, and inoffensive, by which even the teachers of these schools might be reared to qualify themselves for communicating a much higher grade of instruction to a much greater number of learners without divesting them of any portion of the respect and attachment of which they are now the objects.

4. *Elementary Persian and Bengali Schools.*—The schools in which both Bengali and Persian are taught are two; in one with, and in the other without, the formal reading of the Koran. The two schools contain 30 scholars; one five and the other 25. The period of study is in one case stated to be from 6 to 18 years of age, making 12 years; and in the other from 7 to 23, making 16. The teachers are—one a somewhat intelligent Brahman, and the other a *Kath-Molla* rather better instructed than others of the same class. The remuneration of the former consists entirely of fees—one anna, two annas, and four annas being charged respectively in three grades of Bengali writing; and four annas, eight annas, and one rupee in three stages of Persian reading, the income from both sources averaging seven rupees eight annas per month. The

remuneration of the latter is received from one person who gives a fixed allowance and the usual perquisites, amounting in all to four rupees eight annas per month. The Bengali instruction is given in writing and agricultural accounts, and the Persian instruction in the reading of the *Pandnameh*, *Gulistan*, *Bostan*, &c. One of these schools has a separate school-house built by the patron. The scholars of the other assemble occasionally in the teacher's house, occasionally at that of Rammohan Sandyal, and occasionally in that of Krishna Kumar Bhaduri, the two latter being respectable inhabitants of the village whose children attend the school.

The combined study of Persian and Bengali in these schools suggests the inquiry to what extent Persian is studied in this district for its own sake, and to what extent merely as the language of the courts. The Bengali language, with a larger proportion than in some other districts of what may be called aboriginal terms, *i. e.*, words not derived from the Sanscrit or any other known language, is the language of the Musalman as well as of the Hindu population. Even educated Musalmans speak and write the Bengali; and even several low castes of Hindus occupying entire villages in various directions and amounting to several thousand individuals, whose ancestors three or four generations ago, according to the popular explanation, emigrated from the Western Provinces and settled in this district, have found it necessary to combine the use of the Bengali with the Hindi, their mother-tongue. The Bengali, therefore, may be justly described as the universal language of the district; and it might be supposed that those who wished to give their children a knowledge of letters and accounts would seek these advantages for them through the most direct and obvious medium—the language of the district—instead of having recourse to a foreign language, such as the Persian, in which instruction is less easily obtainable and rather higher priced. In these circumstances, the considerations that lead to the use of Persian appear to be of a complex character, partly connected with the importance attached to it by Musalmans, and partly with the importance given to it in the Company's courts.

It has been already seen that in connection with the religious and social observances of the lowest classes of the Musalman population the formal reading of the Koran in the original language is deemed indispensable; and in like manner the acquisition of a real knowledge of the language of Islam and of the learning it contains is viewed amongst the educated as the highest attainment to which they can aspire. An endowed establishment exists at *Kusheh Bagha* in which it is professed to be regularly taught; and in one Mahomedan family I found a manlavi employed for the express purpose of teaching the eldest son Arabic. Now Persian, at least in India, is the vestibule through which only access is gained to the temple of Arabic learning; and even those



who do not go beyond the porch, by association attach to the one some portion of the respect which strictly belongs only to the other. It would thus appear that the associations, literary and religious, that connect Persian with Arabic, come in aid of the more general cultivation of the former tongue by Musalmans. But Persian in itself has attractions to educated Musalmans. The language of conversation with them is the Urdu or Hindustani which acknowledges the Persian as its parent, and although the Urdu has a copious literature, that literature is chiefly poetical, and it is only from the Persian that educated Musalmans have hitherto derived that instruction in the knowledge of accounts, of epistolary communication, &c, to which they attach the greatest importance. They teach it to their children, therefore, because it is really the most useful language to which they have access. The recollections belonging to this language still further endear it to Musalmans. It is the language of the former conquerors and rulers of Hindustan from whom they have directly or indirectly sprung, and the memory both of a proud ancestry and of a past dominion—the loyalty which attaches itself rather to religion and to race than to country—attract them to its cultivation. These motives, or motives akin to these, it seems probable induced Dost Mahomed Khan (No. 3), Karim Ali Shah (No. 166), and Musafir-ool-Islam at Kusbeh Bagha, to promote the study of Persian in this district. But even in these cases the importance given to the Persian language in the administration of justice and police and in the collection of the revenue, has had considerable influence; and in other cases, as in Nos. 40 and 100, that consideration has probably exclusive weight. In the two latter the sole or chief patrons of the schools are Hindu landholders or farmers who have no conceivable motive to teach this language to their children, except with a view to the use to which they may hereafter apply it in conducting suits in the Company's courts, or in holding communications with public officers; unless we take further into account the superior respectability and aptness for business which those possess who have received a Persian education—an advantage, however, which is connected with the preference given to it in the courts. Some Hindu landholders and other respectable Natives have expressed to me a desire to have Persian instruction for their children, but they apparently had no other object than to qualify them to engage in the business of life, which, unhappily in their case, is for the most part identical with the business of the courts.

Upon the whole, apart from the courts, the Persian language has a very feeble hold upon this district, and it would not be difficult not merely to substitute English for it, but to make English much more popular. Some of the considerations by which Persian is recommended might be brought with much more force in favor of English, if it could be made more accessible, and the motives derived from other considerations which are in their

nature untransferable are not such as should be encouraged and might be gradually made to lose their influence without doing any violence to popular feeling.

II. *Elementary Domestic Instruction.*—The number of families in which domestic instruction is given to the children is 1588. These families are found in 238 villages out of 485, the total number of villages in *Nattore*. I omitted to note at the commencement of the inquiry the number of children in each of these families, and I cannot, therefore, state with perfect accuracy the total number of children receiving domestic instruction; but after my attention had been attracted to this omission, I found that a very large majority had each only one child of a teachable age receiving instruction, a few had two, a still smaller number had three, and one or two instances were found in which four children of one family received domestic instruction. The number of families in which two or more children receive domestic instruction are comparatively so few that I cannot estimate the total average for each family at more than  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , which, in 1,588 families, will give 2,382 children who receive domestic instruction. It has before appeared that the number of children receiving elementary instruction in schools is 262; and the proportion of those who receive elementary instruction at home to those who receive it in schools is thus as 1,000 to 109.9.

It is not always the father who gives this instruction, but quite as often an uncle or an elder brother. In one village I found that the children of three families received elementary instruction from a *pujari Brahman* under the following arrangement. As a *pujari* or family chaplain he receives one rupee a month with lodging, food, clothing, &c., from one of the three families, the head of which stipulates that he shall employ his leisure time in instructing the children of that and of the two other families. In some villages in which not a single individual could be found able either to read or write, I was notwithstanding assured that the children were not wholly without instruction, and when I asked who taught them, the answer was that the *gomashla*, in his periodical visits for the collection of his master's rents, gives a few lessons to one or more of the children of the village.

The classes of society amongst which domestic elementary instruction is most prevalent deserve attention. Of the 1,588 families, 1,277 are Hindu, and 311 are Mahomedan; and assuming the average of each class to be the same, viz.,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  children in each family as already estimated, then the number of Hindu children will be 1,915 $\frac{1}{2}$  and of Mahomedan children 466 $\frac{1}{2}$ , or in the proportion of 1,000 to 243.2. This proportion, with the proportion previously established between the entire population of the two classes, affords a measure of the comparative degree of cultivation which they respectively possess, the proportion of

Musalman to Hindus being about two to one, the proportion of Musalman to Hindu children receiving domestic instruction being rather less than one to four. This disproportion is explained by the fact already stated that a very large majority of the humblest grades of Native society in this district are composed of Musalmans, such as cultivators of the ground, day-laborers, fishermen, &c., who are regarded by themselves as well as by others, both in respect of condition and capacity, as quite beyond the reach of the simplest forms of literary instruction. You may as well talk to them of scaling the heavens as of instructing their children. In their present circumstances and with their present views, both would appear equally difficult and equally presumptuous. Those who give their children domestic instruction are *zemindars*, *talukdars*, and persons of some little substance; shopkeepers and traders possessing some enterprize and forecast in their callings; *zemindars'* agents or factors (*gomashtas*), and heads of villages (*mandals*), who know practically the advantage of writing and accounts; and sometimes persons of straitened resources, but respectable character, who have been in better circumstances, and wish to give their children the means of making their way in the world. *Pundits*, too, who intend that their children should pursue the study of Sanscrit begin by instructing them at home in the rudiments of their mother tongue; and *Brahmans* who have themselves gone through only a partial course of Sanscrit reading, seek to qualify their children by such instruction as they can give for the office and duties of a family priest or spiritual guide.

The instruction given in families is still more limited and imperfect than that which is given in schools. In some cases I found that it did not extend beyond the writing of the letters of the alphabet, in others the writing of words. *Pundits* and priests, unless when there is some landed property in the family, confine the Bengali instruction they give their children to writing and reading, addition and subtraction, with scarcely any of the applications of numbers to agricultural and commercial affairs. Farmers and traders naturally limit their instructions to what they best know, and what is to them and their children of greatest direct utility, the calculations and measurements peculiar to their immediate occupations. The parents with whom I have conversed on the subject do not attach the same value to the domestic instruction their children receive which they ascribe to the instruction of a professional school-master, both because in their opinion such instruction would be more regular and systematic, and because the teacher would probably be better qualified.

It thus appears that, in addition to the elementary instruction given in regular schools, there is a sort of traditionary knowledge of written language and accounts preserved in families from father to son and from generation to generation. This domestic

elementary instruction is much more in use than scholastic elementary instruction, and yet it is not so highly valued as the latter. The reasons why the less esteemed form of elementary instruction is more common cannot in all cases be accurately ascertained. The inaptitude to combination for purposes of common interest sometimes alleged against the Natives might be suggested; but the truth is that they do often club together, sometimes to establish and support schools, and sometimes to defray the expenses of religious celebrations, dances, and plays. In those cases in which scholastic instruction would be preferred by the parents, and I believe such cases to be numerous, poverty is the only reason that can be assigned; and in other instances, as of the zemindar and the Brahman Pundit, the pride of rank and station in the one case, and of birth and learning in the other, acting also upon circumscribed means, may prevent the respective parties from looking beyond their own thresholds for the instruction which their children need. Inability to pay for school instruction I believe to be by far the most prevalent reason, and this is confirmed by the fact that in at least six villages that I visited, I was told that there had been recently Bengali schools which were discontinued, because the masters could not gain a livelihood, or because they found something more profitable to do elsewhere. The case of the Dharail school shows the difficulty with which a small income is made up to a school-master by the community of a village. From all I could learn and observe, I am led to infer that in this district elementary instruction is on the decline and has been for some time past decaying. The domestic instruction which many give to their children in elementary knowledge would seem to be an indication of the struggle which the ancient habits and the practical sense of the people are making against their present depressed circumstances.

### SECTION III.

#### SCHOOLS OF LEARNING.

The state of learned instruction in this district will be considered with reference to the two great divisions of the population, Musalmans and Hindus.

I. *Mahomedan Schools of Learning.*—There are no public schools of Mahomedan learning within the limits of the Nattore thana; and I met with only one Mahomedan family in which any attention was paid to Arabic learning, that of Dost Mahomed Khan Chaudhuri, who has already been mentioned as the patron of a Persian elementary school. In that family, besides the Persian munshi, a maulavi is employed to instruct the eldest son in Arabic. The name of the maulavi is Ghulam Muktidar, formerly a student of the Calcutta Madrasa, and now about 30 years of age. He receives twelve rupees per month with food;

but when I conversed with him he was evidently dissatisfied with this allowance, and of his own accord spoke of resigning his place. His pupil began to study Arabic about thirteen years of age, and will probably continue the study till he is twenty. His Arabic studies were preceded by a course of Persian reading, and the works by which he was introduced to a knowledge of Arabic were also written in Persian. He began with the *Mizan* on prosody, *Munshaib* on etymology, *Tasrif* on inflection, *Zubda* on permutations, and *Hidayat-us-Sarf* on etymology including derivation—all different branches of Arabic grammar and written in Persian prose. These were followed by the *Miat Amil*, containing an exposition of a hundred rules of syntax and translated from the original Arabic prose into Persian verse; *Jummal*, treating of the varieties and construction of sentences, and written in Arabic prose; *Titimma* in Arabic, containing definitions of grammatical terms and additional rules of syntax; *Sharh-i-Miat Amil*, a commentary on the *Miat Amil*; and *Hidayat-un-Nahv*, a comprehensive treatise on Arabic syntax. It was intended that he should afterwards read the *Kafsa*, a still more comprehensive and difficult treatise on syntax; *Sharh-i-Molla*, a commentary on the *Kafsa* by Molla Jami; *Tahzib* and *Sharh-i-Tahzib*, text-book and commentary on logic; *Sharh-i-Vikaia*, a commentary on a treatise of law and religion; and *Fariz-i-Sharif*, a treatise on the Mahomedan law of inheritance. It thus appears that the student's attention is almost exclusively occupied during a long and laborious course of study in acquiring a familiarity with language, its forms and combinations, until towards the close when logic, law, and religion are superficially taught.

The only public institution of Mahomedan learning, of which I can find any trace in this district, is situated at *Kusbeh Bagha*, in the thana of Bilhariya. The tables appended to this report have been limited to institutions situated in thana Nattore, and they consequently contain no reference to it; but the following details will not be out of place under this head.

The madrasa at *Kusbeh Bagha* is an endowed institution of long standing. The property appears to have originally consisted of two portions, which are stated to have been bestowed by two separate royal grants (*sanads*). One of the grants was said to be in the office of the Collector of the district and another is in the possession of the incumbent and was shown to me. On subsequently examining the document in the Collector's Office, I found it to be merely a copy of the original which I saw at *Kusbeh*. The latter bears what the owner believes to be the autograph of the Emperor Shah Jehan, but what is more probable the complexly ornamented impression of his Majesty's seal. The foldings of the document are so much worn that several portions are illegible, and amongst others the place where the year of the Hijri is given; but another date quite legible is the nineteenth

year of the Shah's reign which, calculating from his first proclamation of himself as Emperor in the life-time of his father, would be 1050, and from his full accession to the throne, after the death of his father, 1056 of the Hijri. These years correspond with 1640 and 1646 of the Christian era, which would make this endowment rather less than 200 years old. This, however, does not appear to have been the original grant, for it professes only to confirm former grants of the Shah's predecessors, in virtue of which Maulana Sheikh Abdul Wahab then possessed 42 villages yielding annually 8,000 Rupees, which are ordered in the grant of Shah Jehan to be considered as *Madad-i-Maash*, or means of subsistence for his own use and that of his brothers, children, servants, and dependants. The title of *Maulana* given to Sheikh Abdul Wahab, the highest honorary title bestowed on men of learning amongst Musalmans, implies that it was because of his learning, for the encouragement of learning, and to assist him in the means he had already adopted to promote it, that the grant was made and confirmed. Such appears to have been the interpretation put upon it by every successive inheritor of the grant, for they have all maintained the madrasa in a more or less efficient state, even as at present when their own family has ceased to afford learned men to conduct it. The management, however, seems to have been entirely left in their hands without any express reservation of power on the part of the State to interfere. One of the present incumbents, Musafir-ul-Islam, states that from a personal feeling of hostility to the family, a part of the property was resumed by one of the Moghul governors of Bengal, and an assessment imposed of 872 Rupees per annum, which continues to be paid to the British Government. I learn also from the Commissioner of the Division, that this endowment has been recently investigated and confirmed under Regulation II. of 1819.

The present total income of the estate is stated to be 8,000 Rupees, exactly the value mentioned in Shah Jehan's grant, a coincidence which makes the accuracy of the information doubtful, and the doubt is confirmed by the Collector who values the estate at upwards of 30,000 Rupees per annum. The attempt to conceal, the real value of the endowment may be ascribed either to an innocent or a guilty timidity; and in like manner I am uncertain whether to attribute to a weak or a corrupt motive an endeavor made to bribe my maulavi and thereby to influence, as was hoped, the tenor of this report. There may have been either a consciousness of something needing concealment, or merely an anxiety to avoid an investigation supposed to entail expense and trouble.

The purposes to which the property is applied are four. The first is the maintenance of the *Khunkar* families, the descendants of Sheikh Abdul Wahab; the name *Khunkar* applied to them being probably a corruption of *Akhin*, teacher, with an arbitrary

postfix. There are two such families, having two brothers for their respective heads. They are at enmity with each other, and their quarrel has led to outrage and murder amongst their dependants by which they have been disgraced; but their descent and position still procure for them great respect from the Musalman population, although not equal to that which their fathers enjoyed. The second purpose is the maintenance of public worship which is conducted daily at the stated hours of prayer, and attended by the leading persons belonging to the establishment in an ancient-looking but substantial mosque built from the revenues of the estate. The third purpose is the entertainment of fakirs or religious mendicants of the Mahomedan faith; several of whom, when I visited the institution, were lying about very filthy and some sick. The fourth purpose is the support of the madrasa, of which I have now to speak in detail.

In the madrasa both Persian and Arabic are taught. I have before considered Persian as a branch of elementary instruction; but as it professedly does not here terminate in itself, but is regarded as an introduction to Arabic, it must, in the present instance, be viewed as a branch of a learned education.

The name of the Persian teacher is Nissar Ali. He is about 60 years of age, and receives eight rupees per month, besides lodging, food, washing, and other personal expenses, together with presents at the principal Mahomedan festivals. He receives every thing in short of daily use and consumption except clothes which he provides for himself. The Persian scholars are 48, of whom 12 belong to the village of *Kusbeh Bagha*, and 36 to other villages, 12 of the latter having been absent at the time of my visit. All the pupils of both descriptions, besides instruction, receive lodging, clothing, food, washing, oil, and stationery, including what is necessary for copying manuscripts to be used as text-books. The Persian course of study, commencing with *Alif Be*, proceeds to the formal reading of the *Koran* and thence to the *Pandnameh*, *Amadnameh*, *Gulistan*, *Bostan*, *Joseph* and *Zuleikha*, *Jami-ul-Kawanin*, *Insha Yar Mahomed*, *Secandarnameh*, *Bakar Danish*, *Abulfazl*, &c.

The name of the Arabic teacher is Abdul Azim. He was absent at the time of my visit. He was stated to be about 50 years of age, and he receives 40 Rupees a month with the same perquisites enjoyed by the Persian teacher. The number of Arabic students is seven, of whom two belong to the village of *Kusbeh Bagha* and five to other villages. Of the five, three were declared to be absent, and thus four students of Arabic should have been produced, but only two made their appearance. They have the same allowances and accommodations as the Persian scholars. The course of Arabic study includes the *Mizam*, *Munshair*, *Tasrif*, *Sarf Mir*, *Miat Amil*, and *Shark-i-Miat Amil*; and beyond this last-mentioned work no student had advanced.

There is no fixed age for admission or dismissal, for beginning or completing the course of study. Students are admitted at the arbitrary pleasure of Musafir-ul-Islam, and they leave sooner or later according to their own caprice. During the period that they are nominally students, their attendance from day to day is equally uncontrolled and unregulated except by their own wishes and convenience. Many of the students are mere children, while others are grown up men. The business of the school commences at six in the morning and continues till eleven, and again at mid-day and continues till four. Every scholar reads a separate lesson to the master, one coming when another withdraws, so that there is a total absence of classification. The weekly periods of vacation are for Arabic students every Tuesday and Friday, and for Persian students every Thursday and Friday; and the annual periods of vacation are the whole of the month Ramzan, ten days for the Mohurram, and five days at four different periods of the year required by other religious observances.

• It thus appears that this institution has no organization or discipline and that the course of instruction is exceedingly meagre; and the question arises whether the interference of Government through the General Committee of Public Instruction or in any other way is justifiable; and if so to what useful purposes that interference might be directed. The recent confirmation of this endowment under Regulation II. of 1819 has been mentioned; but as far as I can learn this decision has the effect only of declaring the lands to be Lakhiraj or not liable to assessment by Government without determining the purposes to which their annual profits should be applied. If any of those purposes are of a strictly public nature, the interference of Government in order to secure attention to them is not precluded.

Without going into a verbal discussion of the terms of the royal grant, nothing would seem to be less objectionable than to recognize and confirm in perpetuity the practical interpretation put upon it by every successive holder of the endowment. That interpretation indicates four distinct purposes formerly mentioned, viz., the support of the Khunkar families; the maintenance of public worship; hospitality to the poor and sick; and the promotion of learning. The present holders of the endowment might be reasonably required to separate the funds applicable to the two former purposes which are personal and religious, from those which are applicable to the two latter which are of public and general interest; and after this separation which might be effected by amicable representations of its propriety and advantages, they would remain sole and uncontrolled disposers of the personal and religious fund, and under the control of Government the sole trustees of the public and general fund.

• Musafir-ul-Islam, one of the holders of the endowment, at the same time that he stated the total produce of the estate to be



8,000 Rupees, estimated his expenditure on account of the madrasa at one-fourth or 2,000 Rupees, adding that his brother Aziz-ul-Islam refused to contribute anything to the support of the institution, in consequence of which the number of students was one-half less than it had formerly been. If we assume 30,000 Rupees to be the real annual produce of the estate of which one-fourth is applicable to the promotion of learning and one-fourth to the relief of the poor and sick, the general and public fund would be equal to 15,000 Rupees per annum. The first object of the interference of Government would be to secure this or any other just amount of fixed property for the maintenance of the school and hospital; the second would be to procure the adoption of a determinate course of useful instruction; the third to claim and exercise a visiting power; and the fourth to require periodical returns. The attainment of these objects would make this institution a more efficient and useful one than it is at present, without disturbing the tenure of the property or encroaching on the lawful rights of its present holders.

While I offer these suggestions, I am at the same time strongly impressed with the conviction that the interference of Government with such institutions would be most beneficially exerted, not with reference to the circumstances of only one of them, but to the rights and duties of all institutions of the same class, so as by general rules to preserve their property, purify their management, and provide for their effectual supervision and real usefulness. If ever the whole subject should come before Government for consideration, its interference would be salutary not only with the view of providing for the just, economical, and most useful application of all such endowments now existing, but also with the view of laying a foundation on which, under the protection of known laws and regulations, similar endowments may hereafter be established.

II. *Hindu Schools of Learning.*—These may be considered either as endowed or unendowed.

I have met with only two instances of teachers of Hindu schools of learning in the actual enjoyment of endowments. At *Basudevpur* (No. 72) Srinatha Survabhauma has a small endowment of eight rupees per annum; and at *Samaskhalari* (No. 111) Kalinatha Vachaspati has an endowment of sixty rupees per annum. The founder of these endowments was the Rauce Bhawani. The present holders are both mere grammarians, in no way distinguished among their brethren for their talents and acquirements. It may be inferred that the endowments were made for the encouragement of learning only from the fact that learned teachers are the incumbents.

Representations were also made to me respecting certain endowments which formerly existed, but which have been recently discontinued, and are claimed as still rightfully due to persons now

alive. The following explanation of the circumstances was given to me.

The Rancee Bhawani is stated to have been the founder of all the endowments referred to, and the mode that she adopted of giving effect to her wishes was to arrange with the collector of the district for a fixed increase of the annual assessment to which her estates were liable, the increase being equal to the various endowments which she established, and which were to be paid in perpetuity through the collector. Her estates, it is represented, thus became burdened with a permanent increase of annual assessment to Government, which increase continues to be levied from the successive holders of the estates to whom they have descended or by whom they have been purchased, while the endowments have been discontinued to the heirs and representatives of those on whom they were originally bestowed. The following are four cases of this description particularly described :—

1.—At *Bejpara Amhalli*, Gadadhara Siddhanta received in the above-mentioned manner 120 Rupees per annum which was continued to his eldest son; but on his death the payment was discontinued by the collector, as is alleged, about twelve years ago, although there are members of the family fully competent to fulfil the purposes of the endowment.

2.—At the same place there is a similar case in the family of Kasikanta Nyaya Punekhanana, who received 120 Rupees per annum, which, after his death, was continued to his two sons, but on the death of one of them it was withdrawn from the other.

3.—At *Boria*, in the thana of *Changaon*, a sum of 60 Rupees per annum was paid in the same way to Rudrakanta Bhattacharya and discontinued since his death.

4.—The fourth case is that which is imperfectly described in the Report of 1st July 1835, on the state of education in Bengal, p. 114. The details there given were taken from a Memoir prepared at the India House on education in this country, and published by order of the House of Commons in 1832. The facts appear to be that Rancee Bhawani established the endowment of 90 Rupees per annum in favor originally of Sripati Vidyalankara, after whose death it continued to be paid to his eldest son Chandra Sekhar Tarkavagisa, and after his death to the three younger sons Kasiswara Vachaspati, Govindarama Siddhanta, and Hararama Bhattacharya. Since their death the payment of the endowment has been discontinued to the family, although two members of it, one a son of Kasiswara Vachaspati, and the other a son of Govindarama Siddhanta, have each a school of learning at Tajpur in the thana of *Changaon*. This case is the more worthy of notice because, as appears from the statement prepared at the India House, the Government in 1813, on the recommendation of the Revenue Board, sanctioned the payment in perpetuity, on

condition that the institutions of learning which it was employed to support should be continued in a state of efficiency.

Two or three other cases were reported to me, but not with sufficient precision to justify their mention in this place. With regard to the whole, as there was a strong feeling in the minds of the complaining parties, of the injustice assumed to be done to them, I assured them that no injustice was intended, and promised that I should not fail to bring the subject to the notice of the collector with a view to its re-consideration, and, after reference to the proper authorities, its final determination; reminding them at the same time, that I could neither answer to the collector for the correctness of their statements which they must themselves support by the necessary proofs, nor to them for the decision to which the authorities might come on a view of all the evidence belonging to the question. They expressed themselves quite satisfied that their claim should be considered on its merits; and accordingly on my return from the interior of the district, I mentioned the subject to Mr. Raikes, who had recently succeeded Mr. Bury as Collector and Magistrate. That gentleman engaged to give the subject his attention as soon as it should come before him in some official shape, and pointed out the mode that should be adopted which, for the guidance of the parties concerned, I communicated to them by letter.

The four endowments I have mentioned amount only to 39 Rupees per annum, or 32 Rupees 8 annas per month. If, as appears probable, it shall be discovered that the discontinuance of these payments has arisen from mistake or oversight, the renewal of them will produce an amount of good feeling amongst a respectable and influential class of the native community of this district, which the smallness of the sums involved would at first view scarcely justify any one in anticipating; but here, as in other matters, smallness and greatness are only relative terms, and small as the sums appear they will give an important impulse to the learning of the district. The Revenue Board in 1813, in recommending the confirmation of one of these endowments in perpetuity, annexed the condition that the institutions of learning conducted by the original beneficiary, should be maintained by his successors under the supervision of the local authorities; and as the Government has been made the almoner and trustee of such endowments, it is worthy of consideration how, without neglecting native learning, the promotion of which was one of the principal objects of the founder, they may also be made subservient to the cause of genuine science through the medium of the learned language of the country, for the enlightenment of those whose influence there can be little hope of winning over to the cause of true and useful knowledge except through that medium.

The unendowed Hindu schools of learning in the Nattore thana is taught by 39 Pundits, of whom thirty-seven are Brahmins, and two are of the vaidya or medical caste.

The two medical professors are brothers and jointly conduct a medical school at Vaidya Belghariya. There is no instance of two or more Brahman-pundits in a similar way co-operating with each other, and uniting their talents and acquirements for their mutual advantage. Every one stands or falls by himself. In this district, and even in a single thana, there are materials for a Hindu University\* in which all the branches of Sanscrit learning might be taught; but instead of such a combination each Pundit teaches separately the branch or branches of learning which he has studied most, or for which there is the greatest demand, and the students make their selections and remove from one to another at their pleasure. The Brahman-pundits are either Varendra or Vaidika Brahmins, the former so-called from the ancient name of the district in which they reside, and the latter, as is supposed, from the former devotion of that class to the study of the Vedas, although in this district at the present day they are mere grammarians and of very limited attainments.

The Pundits are of all ages, from twenty-five to eighty-two; just entering upon life proud of their learning and panting for distinction; others of middle age, either enjoying a well-earned reputation and a moderate competence, or disappointed in their expectations and anxious respecting the future; and some more advanced in years, possessing the heart-felt veneration of their countrymen; while others appear to be neglected and sinking to the grave under the pressure of poverty. All were willing to believe and desirous to be assured that Government intended to do something, as the fruit of the present inquiry, for the promotion of learning,—a duty which is in their minds constantly associated with the obligations attaching to the rulers of the country. The humbleness and simplicity of their characters, their dwellings, and their apparel, forcibly contrast with the extent of their acquirements and the refinement of their feelings.\* I saw men not only unpretending, but plain and simple in their manners, and although seldom, if ever, offensively coarse, yet reminding me of the very humblest classes of English and Scottish peasantry; living constantly half naked, and realizing in this respect the descriptions of savage life; inhabiting huts which, if we connect moral consequences with physical causes, might be supposed to have the effect of stunting the growth of their minds, or in which only the most contracted minds might be supposed to have room to dwell—and yet several of these men are adepts in the subtleties of the profoundest grammar of what is probably the most philosophical language in existence; not only practically skilled in the niceties of its usage, but also in the principles of its structure; familiar with all the varieties and

applications of their national laws and literature; and indulging in the abstrusest and most interesting disquisitions in logical and ethical philosophy. They are in general shrewd, discriminating, and mild in their demeanor. The modesty of their character does not consist in abjectness to a supposed or official superior, but is equally shown to each other. I have observed some of the worthiest speak with unaffected humility of their own pretensions to learning, with admiration of the learning of a stranger and countryman who was present, with high respect of the learning of a townsman who happened to be absent, and with just praise of the learning of another townsman after he had retired, although in his presence they were silent respecting his attainments. These remarks have reference to the personal character of some of the Pundits, but they should not be understood to imply a favorable opinion of the general state of learning in the district which, as may be inferred from the subsequent details, is not very flourishing.

In 38 schools of Hindu learning the total number of students is 397, averaging  $10\frac{1}{2}$  in each school. The students are divided into two classes, one of which consists of those who are natives of the villages in which the schools are situated, and the other of the natives of other villages, the former called *natives* and the latter *foreigners*, corresponding respectively with the *externes* and *internes* of the Royal Colleges of France. The students of a school or college who are natives of the village in which it is situated, are the *externes*, attending it daily for the purpose of receiving-instruction, and daily returning home to their parents, relatives, or friends with whom they board and lodge; while the students who are natives of other villages than that in which the school is situated, are the *internes*, residing in the house of the teacher and receiving from him not only instruction, but also lodging and food. The school at *Sridharpur* (No. 477) is the only instance in which I found that the native students of the village received food as well as instruction; and in the same institution the foreign students, contrary to the usual practice, received not only food and lodging, but also other minor personal expenses—a liberality which implies more than the usual resources on the part of the teacher, and tends to increase his reputation. In other parts of the country, the students of Hindu Colleges are generally divided into three classes, which may be explained by the terms *townsmen*, or natives of the village in which the college is situated, *countrymen*, or natives of the district or province in which the college is situated, and *foreigners*, or natives of any other district or province; but at present the natives of no other district or province are ever attracted to Rajshahi for the acquisition of learning, and, therefore, the name of the third class has been here transferred to the second by a sort of verbal artifice, which is of general adoption and of long standing, but which can deceive nobody, and could have no

other effect but to flatter the vanity of the race of Pundits by whom the change was made, as if their reputation for learning really had the effect, which it had not, of attracting foreign students to their seminaries. Of the two classes existing and recognized in this district, 136 students belong to the villages in which the schools are situated and 261 to other villages. The reasons that induce so many to leave their native villages are various. In some cases they leave the parental roof because there is no school of learning or none of sufficient repute in their native villages; but in the great majority of instances they prefer to pursue their studies at some distance from home, that they may be free from the daily distractions of domestic life, and from the requisitions often made by their fathers that they should perform some of the ceremonial observances of Hinduism in their stead in the family of some disciple at a distance. According to my information, the number is very few, although there probably are some, who have recourse to this measure from mere poverty, and with the view of gaining a livelihood at the expense of their teacher; for the large majority of students, although not wealthy, are above want, being the children either of Kulin-brahmans, Brahman-pundits, initiating or officiating priests, whose professional emoluments are comparatively considerable.

In a majority of cases the apartments used as a school-house and as a place of accommodation for the students, are separate from the dwelling-house of the teacher, but built at his expense and often also applied to the purpose of hospitality to strangers. Sometimes the building is one that has descended from a deceased father or brother to its present possessor. The cost of each building varies from ten to sixty rupees in ordinary cases; but in one extraordinary instance it amounted to two hundred rupees defrayed by a spiritual disciple of the Pundit to whom it belongs. In eleven instances the teachers are too poor to erect separate apartments and they consequently give their instructions within their own dwellings. The foreign students or those who have no home in the village are lodged and fed and pursue their studies at night either in the building erected for a school-room, in separate lodging-apartments attached to it, or in the dwelling-house of the teacher, the last-mentioned course being adopted only when there is no other resource. The separate buildings in which the students are accommodated are of the humblest description, as may be judged from the cost of their erection; huts with raised earthen floors and open either only on one side or on all sides according to the space which the owner can command for ingress and egress. That sort which is open on all sides is used only as a place of reading and study either public or private, and never as a dwelling.

It will be seen from Table III. that the period occupied by an entire course of scholastic studies is in several instances not less than twenty-two years, so that a student must often have passed

his thirtieth year before he leaves college. This is a great deduction from the most valuable years of a man's life, but the period actually employed in collegiate study is lessened by the length of the vacations which the students receive or take. These extend generally from the month Asarh to the month Kartik, or from the middle of June to about the beginning of November, being from four to five months in the year, besides several shorter vacations at other periods. During the principal period of vacation those who are not natives of the villages in which they have been pursuing their studies return home and in most instances probably continue them there, but with less regularity and application than when under the eye of a Pundit.

The custom of inviting learned men on the occasion of funeral obsequies, marriages, festivals, &c., and at such times of bestowing gifts on them proportioned in value and amount to the estimation in which they are held as teachers, is general amongst those Hindus who are of sufficiently pure caste to be considered worthy of the association of Brahmans. The presents bestowed consist of two parts—first, articles of consumption, principally various sorts of food; and second, gifts of money. In the distribution of the latter at the conclusion of the celebration, a distinction is made between *Saddikas*, philologers or teachers of general literature; *Smarttas*, teachers of law; and *Naiyayikas*, teachers of logic, of whom the first class ranks lowest, the second next, and the third highest. The value of the gifts bestowed rises not merely with the requirements of the individual in his own department of learning, but with the dignity of the department to which he has devoted his chief labors and in which he is most distinguished. It does not, however, follow that the professors of the most highly honored branch of learning are always on the whole the most highly rewarded; for in Rajshahi, logic which, by the admission of all, ranks highest, from whatever cause, is not extensively cultivated and has few professors, and these receive a small number of invitations and consequently of gifts in proportion to the limited number of their pupils and the practical disuse of the study. Their total receipts, therefore, are not superior and even not equal to the emoluments enjoyed by learned men of an inferior grade, who have, moreover, a source of profit in the performance of ceremonial recitations on public occasions which the pride or self-respect of the logicians will not permit them to undertake. Whatever the amount, it is from the income thus obtained that the teachers of the different classes and grades are enabled to build school-houses and to provide food and lodging for their scholars; but several have assured me that to meet these expenses they have often incurred debt from which they are relieved only by the occasional and unexpected liberality of individual benefactors.

When a teacher of learning receives such an invitation as is above described, he generally takes one or two of his pupils with

him, giving each pupil his turn of such an advantage in due course; and when the master of the feast bestows a gift of money on the teacher, it is always accompanied by a present to the pupil less in amount but proportioned to the respectability of the teacher's character and the extent of his attainments. The teacher sometimes takes a favorite pupil more frequently than others, the object being to give a practical proof of the success of his instructions as well as to accustom the pupil to the intercourse of leaped and respectable society. As the student is furnished with instruction, food, and lodging without cost, the only remaining sources of expense to him are his books, clothes, and minor personal expenses, all of which, exclusive of books, are estimated to cost him in no case more and often less than seven rupees per annum. His books he either inherits from some aged relative or at his own expense and with his own hands he copies those works that are used in the college as text-books. In the latter case the expense of copying includes the expense of paper, pens, ink, ochre, and oil. The ochre is mixed with the gum of the tamarind-seed extracted by boiling, and the compound is rubbed over the paper which is thus made impervious to insects and capable of bearing writing on both sides. The oil is for light, as most of the labor of copying is performed by night after the studies of the day have been brought to a close. An economical student is sometimes able, with the presents he receives when he accompanies his teacher to assemblies, both to defray these expenses and to relieve the straitened circumstances of his family at a distance. I have learned on good authority that ten and even twenty rupees per annum have been saved and remitted by a student to his family; but the majority of students require assistance from their families, although I am assured that what they receive probably never in any case exceeds four rupees per annum.

I have already mentioned that in this district, as in Bengal generally, there are three principal classes into which the teachers and schools of Hindu learning are divided, and which, therefore, may with advantage be separately considered. The acquirements of a teacher of logic in general pre-suppose those of a teacher of law, and the acquirements of the latter in general pre-suppose those of a teacher of general literature who, for the most part, has made very limited attainments beyond those of his immediate class. As these are popular and arbitrary designations, they are not always strictly applied, but it would appear that of the thirty-eight schools of learning already mentioned, there are thirteen taught by Pundits who may be described as belonging to the first class; nineteen by Pundits of the second; and two by Pundits of the third or highest class; while the remaining four belonging to none of the leading classes must be separately and individually noticed.



1. The thirteen schools of general literature are Nos. 25, 45, 72 (a), 86 (a), 111, 143, 279 (b), 279 (d), 279 (e), 328, 374 (b), 374 (c), and 477, of Table III.; and they contain 121 students, of whom 51 belong to the villages in which the schools are situated and 70 to other villages. The age at which they enter on their studies varies from seven to fourteen, and that at which they leave college varies from twenty to thirty-two, the whole period of scholastic study thus varying from eleven to twenty-two years. The teachers, according to their own account, receive throughout the year various sums as presents, which average per month the lowest two rupees and the highest thirty rupees, and this in an average of the whole gives more than eleven rupees a month to each, without taking into account one of the number who is superannuated and receives nothing at all. All the students of a school of general literature receive throughout the year various sums which average the lowest four annas and the highest four rupees per month; and this in an average of the whole gives one rupee eleven annas per month to each institution. The total expense incurred by a student in copying the books used in a course of instruction in this department of learning is stated to vary from one to thirty-six rupees. The average in twelve of these thirteen schools is about thirteen rupees to each student for the cost of books in a whole course which makes the annual expense about a rupee.

The youths who commence the study of Sanscrit are expected to have acquired either at home or in a Bengali school merely a knowledge of Bengali writing and reading and a very slight acquaintance with the first rules of arithmetic, viz., addition and subtraction, without a knowledge of their applications. Hence learned Hindus having entered with these superficial acquirements and at an early age on the study of Sanscrit, and having devoted themselves almost exclusively to its literature, are ignorant of almost every thing else.

The studies embraced in a full course of instruction in general literature are grammar, lexicology, poetry and the drama, and rhetoric, the chief object of the whole being the knowledge of language as an instrument for the communication of ideas.

On entering a school of learning a student is at once put to the study of Sanscrit grammar. Grammar is a favorite study in this district and the most extensive and profound treatises on it in the Sanscrit language are those in most general use. In the thirteen schools of this class there are four different grammars used. *Panini* being taught in six, the *Kalapa* in two, the *Mugdha-bodha* in three, and the *Ratnamala* in two. In teaching *Panini* the first work employed is the *Bhasha Vritti*, a commentary by Furusottāma Deva on *Panini's* rules, omitting those which are peculiar to the dialect of the Vedas. This is followed by the study of the *Nyasa*, an exposition of the *Kasica Vritti*,

which is a perpetual commentary on Panini's rules. The *Kasica Triti* does not itself in any case appear to be used as a text-book, but references are occasionally made to it. The *Kalapa* grammar is taught first in the Daurga Sinhi, an exposition by Durga Singa of the Katantra Vritti, the latter being a brief and obscure commentary on the original aphorisms. This is followed by the *Katantra Parisista*, a supplement to the *Kalapa* by Sripat-datta; by the *Katantra Panjica*, a commentary on the Daurgi Sinhi by Trilochandasa; by the commentary of Sushena Kaviraja on the same; and by *Parisista Prabodha*, a commentary by Gobmatha on the supplement above-mentioned. The original aphorisms of the *Panini* and *Kalapa* grammars are believed to possess divine authority, which is not attributed to any of the other works employed in this course of instruction. The *Mugdha-bodha* of Vopadeva is studied without any commentary in the two schools where it is used, and the *Ratnamali*, a compilation by Purusottama from the *Panini* and *Kalapa* grammars, is studied with the commentaries called *Jyeshwari* and *Prabhava Prakasika*. A list of verbal roots with their meanings is also committed to memory in this part of the course.

Lexicology is the most appropriate name that has occurred to me for describing that branch of study by which, simultaneously with the study of grammar, a knowledge of the meaning of single words and of their synonyms is acquired. The only work employed for this purpose is the *Amara Kosha* by Amara Sinha, with the commentary of Raghunatha Chakravarti. The names of objects, acts, qualities, &c., are classified and their synonyms given, which the students begin to commit to memory without the meaning, and they afterwards read the work and its commentary with the teacher who explains them. This gives the student a large command of words for future use either in reading or composition; and it is after some acquaintance with the grammar and the dictionary that the teacher usually encourages and assists the student to compose, verbally or in writing, short sentences in Sanskrit.

The work in verse invariably read first is the *Bhatti Kavya* on the life and actions of Rāma, so composed as to form a continued illustration of grammatical rules. This is followed without any fixed order by any of the following works or by others of the same class, viz., *Raghu Kavya*, also on the history of Rāma; *Magha Kavya*, on the war between Sisupala and Krishna; *Naishadha Kavya*, on the loves of Nala and Damayanti; *Bharavi Kavya*, on the war between Yudisthira and Durgodhana, &c., &c., &c. The poetry of the drama may be said to be almost wholly neglected here: in one college only I found that the *Mahanatuka* is read.

In rhetoric the first work read is the *Chandamanjari* on prosody, and the only other work by which this is followed here I found to be the *Kavya Prakasika* on the rules of poetical composition.

It will be seen from Table III. that all these branches of general literature are not taught by every teacher. Some teach only grammar; others grammar and lexicology; others add poetry with or without the drama; and others embrace rhetoric. But the whole of these are required to constitute a complete course of philology and general literature. The teacher of grammar only, the mere grammarian, ranks in the lowest scale of learned men; and in proportion to the number of the other branches of general literature which he adds to his acquirements, he raises his reputation and emoluments as a *Sabdik* or philologist.

2. The nineteen schools of Hindu law are 9 (a), 18 (a), 18 (b), 46, 70 (a), 71, 72 (b), 84, 86 (a), 86 (c), 86 (e), 100, 170, 279 (c), 374 (a), 445, 447 (a), 447 (b), and 447 (c), of Table III., and contain 245 students, of whom 81 belong to the villages in which the schools are situated and 164 to other villages. The age at which they enter on their studies varies from nine to fifteen, and that at which they leave college varies from eighteen to thirty-two, the whole period of scholastic study varying from eight to twenty-three years. Omitting one school in which the age of beginning and completing ~~study~~ could not be satisfactorily ascertained, the average period of scholastic study in the remaining eighteen institutions is between sixteen and seventeen years. The professors of law receive throughout the year various sums as presents which, according to their own statements, average the lowest three rupees and the highest twenty-five per month. Omitting two schools respecting which this information could not be obtained, the average monthly receipts of the remaining seventeen amount to upwards of fourteen rupees each. All the students of a school of law throughout the year receive various sums as presents, which average the lowest four annas and the highest five rupees per month; and, omitting the two schools above-mentioned, the average monthly receipts of the remaining seventeen amount to rather less than two rupees each. The total expense which a student incurs in copying the books used in a course of instruction in a law-school varies from four to forty rupees; and omitting five schools in which this could not be ascertained, the average disbursements of each student in the remaining fourteen schools for books only during a whole course amount to upwards of twenty rupees.

The teachers of law are in all cases conversant with the grammar and lexicology of the Sanscrit language and can give instructions in them; some are also acquainted more or less familiarly with the poetical and dramatic writings: and a smaller number with the works on rhetoric. Every teacher of law receives students at the earliest stage and instructs them according to the extent of his own acquirements in general literature, and when he has reached that limit, he carries them on to the study of law. His students sometimes object to this arrangement and leave him

in order to complete with another teacher a course of study in general literature. The majority of law-students, however, begin and end their studies in general literature to whatever extent they may desire to proceed with a professor of that branch of learning, and afterwards resort to a teacher of law for instruction in his peculiar department. On those occasions on which the study of the law is specially directed to be suspended as on the first, eighth, and thirtieth of the waxing and waning of the moon, when it thunders, &c., &c., the students most commonly revert to their studies in general literature which at such times are not prohibited.

The compilation of *Raghunandana* on every branch of Hindu law, comprised in twenty eight books, is almost exclusively studied in this district. It consists, according to Mr. Colebrooke, of texts collected from the institutes attributed to ancient legislators, with a gloss explanatory of the sense, and reconciling seeming contradictions. Of the twenty-eight books those are almost exclusively read which prescribe and explain the ritual of Hinduism. The first book invariably read is that on lunar days; and this is followed by the others without any fixed order of succession; such as those on marriage, on penance, on purification, on obsequies, on the intercalary month of the Hindu calendar, &c.; but the number of books read is seldom more than ten and never exceeds twelve, and is sometimes not more than four, three, and even two. *Raghunandana's* treatise on inheritance and *Jinmatavahana's* on the same subject, are also taught by one or two Pundits.

3. The two schools of logic are 9 (b), and 26 (b), of Table III., containing each four students, of whom two are Natives and six strangers to the villages in which the schools are situated. The age of commencing study is ten or twelve and that of leaving college twenty-four or thirty-two, the course of study taking up from twelve to twenty-two years which must be understood, as in the preceding case of law-schools, to include the preliminary studies in grammar, &c. Of these schools the teacher of one receives about twenty-five rupees a month in presents and his pupils two rupees; and the teacher of the other eight rupees a month and his pupils one. The expenditure of a student in the former for books during the whole course is stated to be about fourteen rupees, and that of a student in the latter about fifty rupees; the difference being probably occasioned by the circumstance that in the one case family-copies of books are used which are not possessed in the other.

The course of instruction in logic embraces the reading and explanation of the following works, viz., *Bhasha Parichheda*, an introduction to the system of logic with definitions of terms, quantities, and objects; *Vyapti Panchaka* on the necessary or inherent qualities of objects; *Sinha Vyaghra*, a supplement to the preceding; *Vandhidikaranadharmatachinabhāṣa*, on the same subject;

*Siddhanta Lakshana*, the same; *Abachhedoktanirukti*, the same; *Visea Vyapti*, the same; *Paksata*, on inferential propositions; *Samanya Lakshana*, on the definition of classes or genera; *Samanya Nirukti*, the same; *Avayava*, on syllogism; *Hetwabhasha*, on fallacies; *Kusumanjali*, on the proofs of the divine existence, the attributes of the divine nature, and the means of absorption into it; and *Vyutpattivada*, a treatise on the derivation and meaning of the radical portions and of the suffixes and affixes of words. In one of the schools of logic, the second above-mentioned, only a few of these works are superficially and partially read.

4. Four schools of learning remain to be separately noticed a Vedantic, a Pauranic, a Tantric, and a Medical School.

The Vedantic school, No. 70 (b) of Table III., can scarcely be said yet to exist. The Pundit, after completing the usna course of study in his native district of Bajshahi, to extend his acquirements went to Benares whence he had returned about a month before I saw him. He now proposes to open a school, and to teach the following branches of learning, viz., general literature law, the puranas, and the vedanta, in which he claims to be profoundly versed, and from which I derive the title by which his intended school is designated. He had no pupils at the time of my visit to his village.

The Pauranic school, No. 279 (a) of Table III., contains twenty students, of whom five are natives and fifteen strangers to the village in which the school is situated. They begin to study about ten years of age and leave school about thirty-two. The teacher receives about twenty-five rupees a month and the student four, each of the latter expending about sixty rupees in copying the books they require for a whole course. The Pundit gives instruction in general literature, in law, and in astrology; but as he also teaches the puranas, chiefly the *Mahabharata*, and derive a great part of his emoluments from the public recitation of them in wealthy families, the name given to his school is derived from that branch of his acquirements. In astrology, he teaches the *Jyotisa Tatwa* by Raghunandana, a summary of astrological knowledge; the *Jataka Chandrica*, on the calculation of nativities; and the *Satkriya Muktavali*, the *Dipika*, and *Samay Pradipa*, on lucky and unlucky days.

The Tantric school, No. 38 of Table III., contains twelve pupils of whom three are natives and nine strangers to the village in which the school is situated. They begin to study at eight years of age and leave school at thirty. The teacher receives eight rupees and the students about eight annas a month in presents; each of the latter expending about forty rupees in copying the books for a course. The Pundit teaches superficial grammar and the *Vedanta*, but his distinctive name is derived from his professional instruction in the Tantra. The work classed under this name may be generally described to be employed

in explaining the formulæ peculiar to the votaries of Siva and the female deities, by which they seek to attain supernatural powers and accomplish objects either good or bad for themselves or others. The work taught by this Pundit is the *Tantra Sara*, a compilation on those subjects. One of the two Tantric sects, some of whose followers are found in this district, are intemperate and licentious in their habits and manners, not only believing that the use of intoxicating liquors is permitted, but that it is enjoined by the system of doctrines they profess. With such a belief the use of them is naturally carried to great excess, but the conduct of such persons is regarded with great abhorrence by other Hindus.

The Medical school, No. 70 (c) of Table III., contains seven students of whom four are residents of the village and three strangers. The period of commencing the study of medical works is from twenty-two to twenty-five years of age, and that of discontinuing the study from twenty-five to thirty years of age, the whole period of study varying from five to eight years. It is expected and required that medical students shall have previously acquired a knowledge of Sanscrit grammar and general literature in some of the schools of learning taught by Brahman-pundits, after which they commence a course of medical reading in this institution. The period of study is shortened or prolonged according to the ability of the students for a shorter or a longer period to dispense with the emoluments of private practice. The school is taught by two aged brothers, Vaidyas in caste, most respectable men, and in high repute as medical practitioners. Neither Vaidya teachers nor Vaidya pupils receive invitations or presents, as Brahman-pundits and their pupils do, and the former are consequently dependent solely on their own means for the maintenance of their establishment. Vaidya teachers, however, like Brahman-pundits, lodge and feed those pupils who have no home in the village in which the school is situated, and they also give their instructions to all gratuitously. A student incurs an expense of about sixteen rupees in copying the books necessary to be read in an entire course of study. The work first read is the *Nidana*, a standard medical work, after which the students of this school read *Chakradatta* by Chakrapani; *Ratnamala* by Ramakrishna; *Dravya Guna* by Narayana Dasa; a commentary by the same author on his own work *Madhamali*; commentaries of Vijaya Raksita and Siddhanta Chintamuni on the *Nidana*; a commentary on *Chakradatta* by Yasodhara; and *Patyapotya*, a work described as variously treating of the causes of disease, diagnosis, the practice of medicine, and materia medica.

In a general view of the state of Hindu learning in this district, grammar appears to be the only department of study in which a considerable number of persons have a distinguished proficiency. The most eminent Pundits are 18 (a) and 70 (b). Ramakanta Sarvabhūma a logician, and Siva Chandra Siddhanta a

Vedantic, both highly reputed, and both apparently profound in the branches of learning to which they have devoted themselves. I might add also the medical professors who are venerable men and highly respected by all around them for their learning within their own peculiar range as well as for their general character. There are others who occupy a middle rank; but the majority of the Pundits are superficial men and I have reason to think would be so judged by competent persons amongst their own countrymen—that is, superficial compared with the highest existing standards of native learning, although all in general know well what they profess to know. In this district the poetry of the drama appears to be almost wholly neglected. I found only one instance in which the *Mahanataka* and that alone is read; whereas in some other districts dramatical literature is more generally and more fully studied, the *Mahanakata* being usually succeeded by *Sakuntala*, *Kautuka Sarvaswa*, *Hasyarnava*, *Venisanhar*, *Murari*, &c. In rhetoric, the *Srutabodha* and *Kavyachandrica*, the former on prosody and the latter on the rules of poetical composition and both in general use elsewhere, are not read in this district. In law, *Menu* and the *Mitaksara*, which are studied in other parts of Bengal, are here known only by name; and we have seen that logic, to which by general consent the highest honors are given in Bengal, has here only two professors, of whom one is scarcely worthy to be so ranked. Not only is learning low, but it is retrograding. One village that has two schools of learning (No. 9) had from ten to twelve within the recollection of one of the Pundits, and there has been no corresponding increase elsewhere within the district. The diminution is attributed to the breaking up of the great zemindaries and the withdrawal of the support which their owners gave to the cause of learning and of the endowments which they established. I have already mentioned the comparatively refined tone of feeling and character which the cultivation of Hindu learning appears to give to its possessors; and the effect in some measure extends to their families, for the children of Brahman-pundits are in general bright-looking and intelligent, modest and polite. The system of learned instruction also has a principle of diffusiveness in the gratuitousness with which the instruction is bestowed, but that principle operates only within the pale of the brahman caste, except to a limited extent in favor of Vaidyas, and beyond those limits none of the humanizing influences of learning are seen in the improved moral and intellectual character or physical condition of the surrounding humbler classes of society. It seems never to have entered into the conceptions of the learned that it was their duty to do something for the instruction of those classes who are as ignorant and degraded where learning abounds as where it does not exist; nor has learning any practical influence upon the physical comforts even of its possessors, for their houses are as

rude, confined, and inconvenient as those of the more ignorant, and the pathways of brahman-villages are as narrow, dirty, and irregular as those inhabited by the humblest and most despised Chasas and Chaudals.

## SECTION V.

### FEMALE INSTRUCTION.

Some account of the means and amount of female instruction is indispensable, but on this subject I have been able to collect very little information.

The female population of all ages in Nattore, according to Table I., amounts to 94,717.

Of the total female population, 16,497 are under five years of age; that is, are below the teachable age, or the age at which the first instruction in letters may be or is communicated.

Of the total female population, 16,792 are between fourteen and five years of age; that is, are of the age at which the mind is capable of receiving in an increasing degree the benefit of instruction in letters. The state of instruction amongst this unfortunate class cannot be said to be low, for with a very few individual exceptions there is no instruction at all. Absolute and hopeless ignorance is in general their lot. The notion of providing the means of instruction for female children never enters into the minds of parents; and girls are equally deprived of that imperfect domestic instruction which is sometimes given to boys. A superstitious feeling is alleged to exist in the majority of Hindu families, principally cherished by the women and not discouraged by the men, that a girl taught to write and read will soon after marriage become a widow, an event which is regarded as nearly the worst misfortune that can befall the sex; and the belief is also generally entertained in native society that intrigue is facilitated by a knowledge of letters on the part of females. Under the influence of these fears there is not only nothing done in a native family to promote female instruction, but an anxiety is often evinced to discourage any inclination to acquire the most elementary knowledge, so that when a sister, in the playful innocence of childhood, is observed imitating her brother's attempts at penmanship, she is expressly forbidden to do so, and her attention drawn to something else. These superstitious and distrustful feelings prevail extensively, although not universally, both amongst those Hindus who are devoted to the pursuits of religion, and those who are engaged in the business of the world. Zemindars are for the most part exempt from them, and they in general instruct their daughters in the elements of knowledge, although it is difficult to obtain from them an admission of the fact. They hope to marry their daughters



into families of wealth and property, and they perceive that, without a knowledge of writing and accounts, their daughters will, in the event of widowhood, be incompetent to the management of their deceased husbands' estates, and will unavoidably become a prey to the interested and unprincipled. The Mahomedans participate in all the prejudices of the Hindus against the instruction of their female offspring, besides that a very large majority of them are in the very lowest grades of poverty, and are thus unable, even if they were willing, to give education to their children. It may, therefore, be affirmed that the juvenile female population of this district, that is, the female population of the teachable age or of the age between fourteen and five years, without any known exception and with so few probable exceptions that they can scarcely be taken into the account, is growing up wholly destitute of the knowledge of reading and writing. Upon the principle assumed in Section 1 in estimating the total population, it will follow that the juvenile female population of the whole district is eight times that of Nattore or 134,336; that is, in the single district of Rajshahi there is this number of girls of the teachable age growing up in total ignorance.

Of the total female population, 61,428 are of adult age or above fourteen years; and according to the above-mentioned estimate it will follow that the adult female population of the whole district is eight times that of Nattore or 491,424. It would have been more conformable to the customs of the country to have fixed twelve instead of fourteen as the adult age of females, the former being the age at which married girls are usually taken to their husbands' houses, but the latter was preferred in order to obtain similar *data* for comparison between the different corresponding divisions of the male and female population. If we take into account the early age at which married females leave the parental roof, it will appear probable that there are in this district alone at least half a million of adult females; and with the views which are generally and justly entertained in European society of the influence exercised by the female sex upon the character of their offspring, it would be an object of importance to ascertain the amount of cultivation possessed by this important class. The total absence of means for their instruction in early life and the strong prejudices directly operating against their instruction, sufficiently prove what the answer to such an enquiry must be. Although my information is necessarily imperfect, nothing that is known leads me to suppose that there are many, if any, exceptions to the general character of extreme ignorance. It has already been stated that zemindars, for the most part, instruct their daughters in the elements of knowledge; and for the reasons there assigned, instances sometimes occur of young Hindu females who have received no instruction under their parents' roof taking lessons, at the instigation of their parents and brothers, after they

have become widows, with a view to the adequate protection of their interests in the families of which they have become members. The number of principal zemindars in the whole district is about fifty or sixty, of whom more than a half are females and widows. Of these, two, viz., Rancees Suryamani and Kamal Mani Dasi are alleged to possess a competent knowledge of Bengali writing and accounts, while some of the rest are more imperfectly instructed and others are wholly ignorant. Other exceptions to the general ignorance are found amongst the mendicant Vaishnavas or followers of Chaitanya, amounting in Nattore probably to fourteen or fifteen hundred individuals, who are generally able to write and read and who are also alleged to instruct their daughters in these accomplishments. They are the only religious body of whom as a sect the practice is characteristic. Yet it is a fact that as a sect they rank precisely the lowest in point of general morality, and especially in respect of the virtue of their women. It would be erroneous, however, to attribute the low state of morality to the degree of instruction prevailing amongst them. It is obviously and solely attributable to the fact that the sect is a *polluvies* from all other sects—a collection of individuals who throw off the restraints of the stricter forms of Hinduism in the profession of a doctrine which allows freer license. The authors and leaders of this sect had the sagacity to perceive the importance of the vernacular dialect as a means of gaining access to the multitude, and in consequence their works, original and translated, in that dialect, form a larger portion of the current popular literature than those of any other sect. The subject-matter of these works cannot be said to be of a very improving character, but their existence would seem to have established a love of reading in the sect, and the taste has in some measure at least extended to their women. With these exceptions the total number of grown up females in the district may be reckoned as destitute of instruction in letters.

## SECTION VI.

### INSTRUCTION OF THE MALE POPULATION.

I propose in this place to compare the existing means of instruction with the wants of the juvenile male population, and to estimate the amount of cultivation possessed by the adult male population.

The male population of all ages in Nattore, according to Table I., amounts to 100,579.

Of this population, 18,442 are under five years of age, that is, have not yet attained the age at which the first instruction in letters is or may be communicated.

Of the male population, 22,637 are between fourteen and five years of age, that is, of the teachable or school-going age.

In estimating the means of instruction for this population, we may put schools of learning amongst the Hindus entirely out of the question, for although the teachers of those institutions receive pupils before they are fourteen, yet I found scarcely any instance of a student below that age and a large majority of them are full-grown men. It will, therefore, be correct to class the students at schools of Hindu learning generally, and convenient to class them universally, as of adult age. On the other hand, a very few instances may be found of youths above fourteen attending the schools of elementary instruction, and these on the same general principle will be classed as of the school-going age, although actually beyond it. We have already seen that, in the elementary schools of all descriptions, both amongst Hindus and Mahomedans, the total number of scholars is 262; and it has also appeared that in 1,588 families there are about 2,382 children who receive domestic instruction, the total number who receive any sort of instruction thus amounting to 2,644. Deduct this number from the number of male children between fourteen and five, and it thus appears that of 22,637 children of an age capable of receiving instruction, 19,993 are wholly uninstructed. Of the whole male population of the teachable age, the proportion of the instructed to the uninstructed is thus as 132 to 1,000. In other words, for every number of children amounting to 132 who receive some sort of instruction either at home or at school, there are 1,000 who receive no instruction whatever.

This, although a very decisive fact, does not alone present a complete view of the inadequacy of the means of instruction. The large numerical proportion of those needing instruction to those receiving it, shows that the means of instruction must be exceedingly scanty; but this conclusion is still more fully established when it is added that the means of instruction actually provided are not only insufficient numerically for the juvenile population to be instructed, but that compared with similar institutions in other countries they afford only the lowest grades of instruction, and those in imperfect forms and in the most desultory manner. What, for instance, bearing the semblance of instruction, can be less worthy of the name than the mere knowledge of the forms and sounds of letters to which instruction in the Arabic elementary schools is limited? And in the Bengali and Persian schools, which are several grades higher, I have shown how imperfect is the instruction communicated. Even that proportion, therefore, of the juvenile population who are receiving some sort of elementary instruction must be regarded as most defectively instructed.

Another element in estimating the adequacy of the means of instruction to the wants of a given population is the fit distribution of those means; but where the means are so scanty in

amount and so imperfect in their nature, it may appear of little consequence how they are distributed. In point of fact the police sub-division of Nattore is a favorable specimen of the whole district, for it appears to be decidedly in advance of all the other thanas. According to the best information I can collect, *Hariyat*, *Chaugaon*, *Puthiya*, *Bhawanigunge*, *Bilmariya*, and *Baulaah* rank next to Nattore; while *Tannore*, *Manḍa*, *Dubalkati*, *Godagari*, *Sarda*, and *Mirgunge* are almost entire blanks as to the means of education. If, however, we give the other thanas the advantage, with respect to the means and amount of instruction, of being on an equality with Nattore, and if we assume that the juvenile male population bears the same proportion to the adult male population throughout the district as it does in Nattore, then in the mode before adopted of estimating the total population, eight-times the juvenile population of Nattore will represent the total juvenile population of the district; and it will thus appear that of 181,096 children between fourteen and five throughout the district, 21,152 are receiving some sort of instruction, however imperfect, either at home or at school, and 159,944 are wholly destitute of the means or opportunity of acquiring the simplest elements of education. My own observations and the inquiries I have made of others lead me to believe that this is a more favorable representation of the amount of elementary instruction in the district than strict fact would justify; and yet what a mass of ignorance it exhibits within a comparatively small space, growing up to occupy the place of the ignorance that has gone before it, and destined, it may be feared, to re-produce and perpetuate its own likeness.

The amount of cultivation possessed by the adult male population may be estimated from several details contained in Table I.

The male adult population of Nattore, including all of the male sex who are above fourteen years, that is, who have passed beyond the school-going age, amounts to 59,500; and in this population there are different classes of individuals who have received a greater or less amount of instruction. The first class consists of teachers of schools of learning who we have seen are 39 in number. The extent of their attainments is shown in the account given in Table III. of the institutions which they conduct. In respect of wealth and property they have a comparatively humble place in native society; but in respect of intellectual cultivation and acquired learning, religious authority and moral influence, they hold the first rank. The second class consists of those who have received either a complete or an imperfect learned education, but who have not the means or the ability to establish or conduct a school of learning. They support themselves in general as initiating or family priests, as reciters or interpreters of the *puranas*, on the occasion of public celebrations by rich families; as the performers of propitiatory rites for averting

ill or obtaining good; and as mendicant visitors at the houses of the great. The number of such persons in Nattore is eighty-seven, all Hindus, to whom as belonging to the same general class must be added a learned Musalman, making in all 88. The *third* class consists of the students at Hindu schools of learning, in number amounting to 397, to whom as already stated I shall rank without exception as adults, although there may be a very few amongst them who are under fourteen years of age. At present their attainments in Hindu learning are in many instances respectable, and they are growing up to occupy the places of the two preceding classes. The *fourth* class consists of those without being, or claiming to be, learned in the technical sense of the term, have acquired a degree of knowledge superior to mere reading and writing, such as a knowledge of Bengali accounts, sometimes an acquaintance with Persian as a written language, often an acquaintance with Hindustani as a spoken language, and in three or four instances a smattering of English. They are for the most part persons having some landed property, retainers of wealthy families, officers of Government, servants of merchants and planters, money-lenders and their agents, shopkeepers, teachers of Persian and Bengali schools, &c. Their number is 3,255. The *fifth* class consists of those who can either sign their names or read imperfectly, or perhaps can do both, but the power to do either has obtained admission into this class. It is proper to note this distinction, because the power of reading and writing is in general acquired at school at the same time; but sometimes a person has had only a few months' or perhaps weeks' instruction at school and is just able to sign his name without pretending to read any other writing; and in other cases persons have by self-instruction at home acquired the power to sign their names without making any further advances. On the other hand, some can read without being able to write or pretending to understand even what they read. This class, therefore, includes all who have made any attainment whatever, however humble, in reading or writing, and the individuals composing it consist of the lowest description of Musalman priests, some of whom teach the formal reading of the Koran; the lowest descriptions of dealers or mechanics such as oilmen, flowermen, smiths, manufacturers of earthen-ware, &c.; and the lowest descriptions of brahmins who employ themselves in fomenting disputes in villages about caste and making the conciliation of parties a source of gain to themselves, or who act as cooks, messengers, attendants on idols for hire, &c., &c. The persons of this class are 2,342 in number. These five classes, embracing as far as I can ascertain the entire literary attainments of Nattore, both real and nominal, contain in all 6,121 individuals, leaving out of the male adult population (59,500), not less than 53,379 who have received not even a single ray of knowledge into their minds

through the medium of letters and who will probably remain equally ignorant throughout life. Assuming the former estimate of the entire population of the district, and giving all the other police sub-divisions the advantage of supposing that each has an equal amount of literary cultivation to that of Nattore, it will follow that the total male adult population of Rajshahi is 176,000, of whom 48,968 know more or less of letters, leaving 127,032 who are totally destitute of the advantages of education in its very humblest forms. Of the whole adult male population the proportion of the instructed to the uninstructed is thus as 114.6 to 1,000. In other words, for every number of adult males amounting to 114 or 115 who have acquired some knowledge of letters, however superficial and imperfect, there are 1,000 who have grown up and who must remain totally ignorant of all that a knowledge of letters alone can impart.

The conclusions to which I have come on the state of ignorance both of the male and female, the adult and the juvenile, population of this district require only to be distinctly apprehended in order to impress the mind with their importance. No declamation is required for that purpose. I cannot, however, expect that the reading of this report should convey the impressions which I have received from daily witnessing the mere animal-life to which Ignorance consigns its victims, unconscious of any wants or enjoyments beyond those which they participate with the beasts of the field—unconscious of any of the higher purposes for which existence has been bestowed, society has been constituted, and government is exercised. I am not acquainted with any facts which permit me to suppose that, in any other country subject to an enlightened Government and brought into direct and constant contact with European civilization, in an equal population there is an equal amount of ignorance with that which has been shown to exist in this district. Would that these humble representations may lead the Government of this country to consider and adopt some measures with a view to improve and elevate the condition of the lower classes of the people, and to qualify them both adequately to appreciate the rights and discharge the obligations of British subjects. In such a state of ignorance as I have found to exist, rights and obligations are almost wholly unknown, and Society and Government are destitute of the foundations on which alone they can safely and permanently rest.

## SECTION VII.

### STATE OF NATIVE MEDICAL PRACTICE.

The state of Native Medical Practice in the district is so intimately connected with the welfare of the people that it could not be wholly overlooked; and, as the few facts that I have

collected tend additionally to illustrate their character and condition, it would be improper to omit them. They are submitted with deference to those who may have made professional inquiries, and can form a professional judgment on the subject.

The number of those who may be called general practitioners and who rank highest in the native medical profession in Nattore, is 123, of whom 89 are Hindus and 34 are Mahomedans. The Medical School at Vaidya Belghariya possesses considerable interest, since it is, as far as I can ascertain, the only institution of the kind in the district, and the number of such institutions throughout Bengal is, I believe, very limited. The two medical teachers of this school are employed as domestic physicians by two wealthy families, and they have each also a respectable general practice. As a domestic physician, the junior teacher has a fixed salary of twenty-five rupees a month; while the senior teacher in the same capacity has only fifteen rupees a month, and that only as long as his attendance may be required during periods of sickness in the family that employs him. I have spoken of that family as wealthy, but it is only comparatively so, being in very reduced circumstances; and to that cause rather than to the low estimation in which the physician is held, we must ascribe the scanty remuneration he receives. At another place, Hajra Nattore, No. 26, there are three educated Hindu practitioners, all three brahmans and brothers and more or less acquainted with Sanscrit, having acquired the grammar of the language at Bejpara Amhatti, and subsequently applied their knowledge of it to the study of the medical works in that language. The eldest has practised since he was eighteen, and he is now sixty-two years of age, and employs his leisure in instructing his two nephews. On an average of the year he estimates the income derived from his practice at five rupees a month, while one of his brothers who is in less repute estimates his own income at three rupees. At a third place, Haridev Khalasi, No. 100, there are four educated Hindu practitioners, three of whom appeared to be in considerable repute for skill and learning. They were all absent, and I had not an opportunity of conversing with them; but their neighbours and friends estimated their monthly professional income at eight, ten, and twelve rupees, respectively. There are at most two or three other educated Hindu physicians in Nattore, and all the rest are professionally uneducated, the only knowledge they possess of medicine being derived from Bengali translations of Sanscrit works which describe the symptoms of the principal diseases and prescribe the articles of the native materia medica that should be employed for their cure, and the proportions in which they should be compounded. I have not been able to ascertain that there is a single educated Musalman physician in Nattore, and consequently the 34 Mahomedan practitioners I have mentioned, rank with the uneducated class of Hindu practitioners, deriving all their knowledge of medicine from Bengali

translations of Sanskrit works to the prescriptions of which they servilely adhere.

The only difference that I have been able to discover between the educated and uneducated classes of native practitioners is that the former prescribe with greater confidence and precision from the original authorities, and the latter with greater doubt and uncertainty from loose and imperfect translations. The mode of treatment is substantially the same, and in each case is fixed and invariable. Great attention is paid to the symptoms of disease, a careful and strict comparison being made between the descriptions of the supposed disease in the standard medical works and the actual symptoms in the case of the patient. When the identity is satisfactorily ascertained, there is then no doubt as to the practice to be adopted, for each disease has its peculiar remedy in the works of established repute, and to depart from their prescriptions would be an act of unheard-of presumption. If, with a general resemblance, there should be some slight difference of symptoms, a corresponding departure from the authorized prescription is permitted, but only as regards the medium or vehicle through which it is administered. The medicines administered are both vegetable and mineral. The former are divided into those which are employed in the crude state, as barks, leaves, common or wild roots, and fruits, &c.; and those which are sold in the druggist's shop as camphor, cloves, cardamums, &c. They are administered either externally or in the forms of pill, powder, electuary, and decoction.

The preceding class of practitioners consists of individuals who at best know nothing of medicine as a science, but practice it as an art according to a prescribed routine, and it may well be supposed that many, especially of the uneducated class, are nothing but quacks. Still as a class they rank higher both in general estimation and in usefulness than the village doctors. Of these there are not fewer than 205 in Nattore. They have not the least semblance of medical knowledge, and they in general limit their prescriptions to the simplest vegetable preparations, either preceded or followed by the pronouncing of an incantation and by striking and blowing upon the body. Their number proves that they are in repute in the villages; and the fact is ascribable to the influence which they exercise upon the minds of the superstitious by their incantations. The village doctors are both men and women; and most of them are Mahomedans, like the class to which they principally address themselves.

The *small-pox inoculators* in point of information and respectability come next to the class of general practitioners. There are 21 of them in Nattore, for the most part brahmins, but uneducated and ignorant, exercising merely the manual art of inoculation. One man sometimes inoculates from 100 to 500 children in a day, receiving for each operation a fixed rate of payment



varying from one to two annus; the less amount if the number of children is great, the greater amount if the number is small. The cow-pox has not, I believe, been introduced into this district amongst the natives, except at the head station. Elsewhere the small-pox inoculators have been found its opponents; but, as far as I can understand, their opposition does not arise from interested motives, for the cow-pox inoculation would give them as much labour and profit as they now have. Their opposition arises, I am assured, from the prejudice against using cow-pox. The veneration in which the cow is held is well known, and they fear to participate in a practice which seems to be founded on some injury done to that animal when the matter was originally extracted. The spread of the cow-pox would probably be most effectually accomplished by the employment of Musalman inoculators, whose success might in due time convince the brahman inoculators of their mistake.

*Midwives* are another class of practitioners that may be noticed, although it has been denied that Hindus have any. An eminent London physician, in his examination before the Medical Committee of the House of Commons, is stated to have affirmed that the inhabitants of China have no women-midwives, and no practitioners in midwifery at all. "Of course," it is added, "the African nations and the *Hindus* are the same." I enquired and noted the number of women-midwives (there is not a *man*-midwife in the country) in the villages of Nattore, and find that they amount to 297. They are no doubt sufficiently ignorant, as are probably the majority of women-midwives at home.

Still lower than the village doctors there is a numerous class of pretenders who go under the general name of conjurors or *charmers*. The largest division of this class are the *snake-conjurors*, their number in the single police sub-division of Nattore being not less than 722. There are few villages without one, and in some villages there are as many as ten. I could, if it were required, indicate the villages and the number in each; but instead of enumerating Table I. with such details, I have judged it sufficient to state the total number in this place. They profess to cure the bites of poisonous snakes by incantations or charms. In this district, particularly during the rainy season, snakes are numerous and excite much terror among the villagers. Nearly the whole district forming, it is believed, an old bed of the Ganges, lies very low; and the rapid increase of the waters during the rainy season drives the land-snakes from their holes, and they seek refuge in the houses of the inhabitants, who hope to obtain relief from their bites by the incantations of the conjurors. These take nothing for the performance of their rites, or for the cures they pretend to have performed. All is pecuniarily gratuitous to the individual, but they have substantial advantages which enable them to be thus liberal. When the inhabitants of a village hitherto without

a conjuror think that they can afford to have one, they invite a professor of the art from a neighbouring village where there happens to be one to spare, and give him a piece of land and various privileges and immunities. He possesses great influence over the inhabitants. If a quarrel takes place, his interference will quell it sooner than that of any one else; and when he requires the aid of his neighbours in cultivating his plot of ground or in reaping its produce, it is always more readily given to him than to others. The art is not hereditary in a family or peculiar to any caste. One I met with was a boatman, another a chowkidar, and a third a weaver. Whoever learns the charm may practice it, but it is believed that those practice it most successfully who are "to the manner born," that is, who have been born under a favorable conjunction of the planets. Every conjuror seems to have a separate charm, for I have found no two the same. They do not object to repeat it merely for the gratification of curiosity, and they allow it to be taken down in writing. Neither do they appear to have any mutual jealousy, each readily allowing the virtue of other incantations than his own. Sometimes the pretended curer of snake-bites by charms professes also to possess the power of expelling demons, and in other cases the expeller of demons disclaims being a snake-conjuror. *Demon-conjurors* are not numerous in Nattore; and *tiger-conjurors* who profess to cure the bites of tigers, although scarcely heard of in that thana, are more numerous in those parts of the district where there is a considerable space covered by jungle inhabited by wild beasts. Distinct from these three kinds of conjurors and called by a different name is a class of *gifted* (guni) persons who are believed to possess the power of preventing the fall of hail which would destroy or injure the crops of the villages. For this purpose when there is a prospect of a hail-storm, one of them goes out into the fields belonging to the village with a trident and a buffalo's horn. The trident is fixed in the ground and the Gifted makes a wide circuit around it, running naked, blowing the horn, and pronouncing incantations. It is the firm belief of the villagers that their crops are by this means protected from hail-storms. Both men and women practice this business. There are about a dozen in Nattore, and they are provided for in the same way as the conjurors.

Some of these details may appear, and in themselves probably are, unimportant, but they help to afford an insight into the character of the humblest classes of native society who constitute the great mass of the people, and whose happiness and improvement are identical with the prosperity of the country; and although they exhibit the proofs of a most imbecile superstition, yet it is a superstition which does not appear to have its origin or support in vice or depravity, but in a childish ignorance of the common laws of nature which, the most imperfect education

or the most limited mental cultivation would remove. These superstitions are neither Hindu nor Mahomedan, being equally repudiated by the educated portions of both classes of religionists. They are probably antecedent to both systems of faith and have been handed down from time immemorial as a local and hereditary religion of the cultivators of the soil, who, amid the extraordinary changes which in successive ages and under successive races of conquerors this country has undergone, appear always to have been left in the same degraded and prostrate condition in which they are now found.

Having come into this district not altogether unprepared to appreciate the character of the natives; moving amongst them, conversing with them, endeavouring to ascertain the extent of their knowledge and to sound the depths of their ignorance; inquiring into their feelings and wishes, their hopes and their fears, and frequently reflecting on all that I have witnessed and heard, and all that I have now recorded, I have not been able to avoid speculating on the fittest means of raising and improving their character in such a district as that to which the present Report relates. To develop the views that have occurred to me, and the mode in which I would carry those views into effect, would require more leisure than I can command at this season amid the active duties of local inquiry. I beg, however, to be permitted now to remark that, according to the best judgment I have been able to form, all the existing institutions in the district—even the highest, such as the schools of Hindu learning, and the lowest, such as the Mahomedan schools for the formal reading of the Koran, however remote they are at present from purposes of practical utility, and however unfamiliar to our minds as instruments for the communication of pure and sound knowledge, all without exception present organizations which may be turned to excellent account for the gradual accomplishment of that important purpose; and that so to employ them would be the simplest, the safest, the most popular, the most economical, and the most effectual plan for giving that stimulus to the native mind which it needs on the subject of education, and for eliciting the exertions of the natives themselves for their own improvement without which all other means must be unavailing.

MOORSHEEPABAD ; }  
*The 23rd December 1835.* }

W. ADAM.

THIRD REPORT  
ON THE  
STATE OF EDUCATION IN BENGAL.

INCLUDING SOME ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN BEHAR,  
AND A CONSIDERATION OF THE MEANS ADAPTED TO THE  
IMPROVEMENT AND EXTENSION OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN  
BOTH PROVINCES.

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By WILLIAM ADAM

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"The disposition to maintain and the skill to improve are the two elements—the union of which forms the great statesman."—BENTHAM

"No system for any part of the municipal administration" (of India) "can ever answer that is not drawn from its ancient institutions or assimilated with them"—SIR THOMAS MUNRO

SECTION I.

PROGRESS OF THE INQUIRY.

I was originally appointed by Lord Wellesley Bentinck's government to conduct inquiries into the state of native education in Bengal only, and I subsequently received authority from the present Government to extend them into the province of Behar. In Bengal, the districts that have been visited are those of Rajshahi, Moorshedabad, Beerbhoom, and Burdwan, and in Behar, those of South Behar, and Tirhoot.

My appointment by the Governor General in Council is dated 22nd January 1835, placing me under the orders of the General Committee of Public Instruction, whose instructions I received dated 7th March. On the 8th of April I obtained the authority of the Committee, before proceeding into the interior of the country, to report the amount of information possessed in existing publications and official documents on the subject of native education in Bengal, and such a Report was accordingly submitted to

the Committee on the 1st of July following, and afterwards printed by the order of Government.

In prosecution of the further instructions of the Committee, I proceeded in the early part of July to the district of Rajshahi, and remained there till the end of October, but it was only during the month of August and a part of September that the season of the year permitted me to pursue my investigations. During the remaining part of September and the month of October I prepared a Report on the State of Education in Rajshahi, which was transmitted to the General Committee in December, and subsequently printed by the order of Government.

Since leaving Rajshahi I have not found leisure to make any other Report, and, with the exception of that district, therefore the present Report includes all the localities I have visited. The months of November and December 1835. were employed in the Moorshedabad district, January and February 1836 in the district of Beerbhoom, and March and April following in that of Burdwan. During the months of May and June I was employed, by the orders of Government, on another duty in Calcutta, but was directed to resume my educational survey in July and August. These two months were devoted to the city of Moorshedabad which, at the time I visited the district of that name, had been reserved for future investigation. Returning to Calcutta in the beginning of September, I was detained there by the other duty already referred to until the end of January 1837, when I received orders to proceed into Behar in prosecution of the inquiry into native education, and to limit my investigations to two districts, one situated to the south and the other to the north of the Ganges, as samples of the province. I was accordingly occupied in this duty in the Gya district or South Behar during the months of February, March, and a part of April; and in the Tirhoot district or North Behar during the months of May and June, when I returned to Calcutta to arrange the materials I had collected and prepare the present Report.

It thus appears that I have been engaged an aggregate period of about fifteen or sixteen months, in all seasons of the year, in the actual business of local inquiry, during which the state of native education in seven separate localities, or six districts and one principal city, has been investigated.

I have great pleasure in adding that I have been enabled by Mr. O. W. Malet, late Acting Joint Magistrate of the district of Midnapore, to communicate various details respecting the state of native education in that district. That gentleman, appreciating the utility of such inquiries, in March 1836, of his own accord, instituted an investigation into the state of education in the Midnapore district, and communicated the results to me, which will be embodied in this Report with this general acknowledgment of the source from which they have been derived.

I have still further pleasure in acknowledging the ready and obliging assistance I received from the Magistrates of the different districts I visited, particularly from Mr. Bury and Mr. Dirom in Rajshahi, Mr. W. J. H. Money in Beerbhoom, Mr. W. Tayler in Burdwan, and Mr. Wilkinson in Tirhoot.

## SECTION II.

### PLAN OF INVESTIGATION.

Some account of the plan of investigation adopted may be useful to future statistical inquirers, and it is necessary to explain the sources of error to which I deem the results still liable.

The first object to which I directed my attention was to prepare the forms in which I desired to embody the information to be collected; and in passing from district to district I continued to improve them according as experience, reflection, or local circumstances suggested.

The language in which the forms were prepared was Bengali, Hindi, or Urdu, and the character respectively Bengali, Nagari, or Persian, determined in part by the prevailing language and character of the district where they were to be used, and in part by the attainments of the class of persons in each district who offered their services to me. In the Bengal districts Bengali was chiefly used, but in the city of Moorshedabad I found it necessary to have recourse partially to the Urdu language and Persian character. In South Behar I deemed it advisable to employ the Hindi language and the Nagari character, and in Tirhoot the Urdu language and the Persian character. I believe that in the latter districts I should have experienced fewer difficulties if I had adopted both the Persian language and character, for those of my agents who were acquainted with Hindi only, although very steady and industrious, were peculiarly obtuse and unintelligent, and those who understood Persian were continually diverging into the use of that language in their weekly reports of work done, although this was contrary to my express injunctions.

The forms I prepared were adapted to ascertain—*first*, the state of school-instruction; and *second*, the state of domestic and adult instruction. For the former purpose a separate form was employed for each description of school, one for Bengali or Hindi schools, another for Sanskrit schools, a third for Persian and Arabic schools, &c., each embracing with modifications the following details, viz., the name of the town or village in which the school was situated; the description of place employed as a school-house; the name, religion, caste, and age of the teacher; the sources and amount of his receipts; the extent of his instructions; the number of his scholars, present and absent; their religion and caste; the age at which each had entered school, his present age, the probable age

at which he would leave school, and the progress he had made in the course of instruction; and finally the books, if any, read in the school, and the works, if any, written by the teacher. To ascertain the state of domestic and adult instruction, another form was prepared including the following particulars, viz., the number of families in each town or village; the name, religion, caste, and principal occupation of the head of each family; the number of persons in each family, male and female, above fourteen years of age, the number, male and female, between fourteen and five, and the number, male and female, below five; the number of families in each town or village giving domestic instruction to the children, and the number of children in each such family receiving domestic instruction; the number of persons of adult age in each family who had received a learned education; the number who, without having received a learned education, knew something more than mere reading and writing, whether Bengali or Hindi accounts, the Persian or the English language, or any two or more of these; the number who could merely read and write; and the number who could barely decipher or write their own names.

Having prepared the necessary forms, my first purpose was to visit every village in person and ascertain its exact condition by actual inspection and inquiry in direct communication with the inhabitants. This course I found liable to several objections. The sudden appearance of a European in a village often inspired terror, which it was always difficult, and sometimes impossible, to subdue. The most influential or the best informed inhabitant was sometimes absent, and it required much labor to enable others to comprehend the object of my visit. Under the most favourable circumstances the time consumed in explanations for the satisfaction of the villagers caused such delays as would have ultimately constituted a serious objection to the efficiency and economy of the investigation.

The first measure adopted to facilitate and expedite the inquiry was the employment of *wagifkars*, or agents of intelligence and local experience, whom I sent before-hand into the surrounding villages to explain to the inhabitants the nature and objects of the inquiry, and thus to prepare them for my arrival. These agents were furnished with written forms which were fully explained to them, and which they were required in like manner to explain to those to whom they were sent. The effect of this arrangement was good, for I often found the inhabitants fully prepared to understand my object and to give me the information I sought.

Still the necessity I imposed on myself of visiting every village in person was a great drawback on the despatch with which I was desirous of conducting the investigation, in so far as that object could be attained consistently with efficiency. It next occurred to me that my pandit and maulavi, whom I had hitherto

employed merely as assistants under my own eye, and the *waqifkars*, who had hitherto acted only as *avant-couriers*, might be sent separately to different villages, or groups of villages, with the necessary forms to collect the information required, while I should exercise a general superintendence and control over their movements; and they should at fixed intervals report their proceedings to me. This was accordingly done, and thus increased vigour was infused into the operations.

• Up to this point the forms I had employed were very imperfect, and a useful improvement of them was suggested by the people themselves. I found that while some were very careless about the correctness of the information they gave me, others were so desirous of securing accuracy and giving me satisfaction, that they made out a list of every house in the village, with the name of the head of each family and the number of its inmates of different ages. I took the hint, and thenceforth requested that such a list should be made out in all cases, with the addition of the caste and trade of the family and other details already mentioned. The particularity and minuteness of the forms constitute an important guard against mistake and error on the part of the agents employed, since the multiplication of details is the multiplication of the means of comparison and thereby of the means of checking oversight, culpable neglect, or intentional misrepresentation. It would be more difficult to invent such returns in any consistent form capable of bearing examination than honestly and diligently search out and record the real facts.

These were the modes of investigation I employed in the district of Rajshahi, of which the results have already been reported; and all that I was able to effect from the end of July to the middle of September in that district was almost wholly limited to one out of thirteen police sub-divisions. This was not equal to my own wishes and expectations, and yet I felt that I had done all that could be reasonably expected of me, having kept myself constantly in motion in the height of the rainy season in an inundated district. I immediately brought to the notice of the General Committee of Public Instruction the unavoidably limited local extent to which the inquiry had been carried, and in soliciting further instructions proposed that I should be authorized in like manner in every district I should visit to select one police sub-division as a sample of the whole district. This limitation was approved and sanctioned.

I next moved into the adjoining district of Moorsshedabad; and as my attention was to be confined to one thana, it was important to select one that would form a fair specimen of the whole district. With that view, on the recommendation of those natives and Europeans who appeared to possess the best acquaintance with



the interior of the district, I fixed upon the police sub-division of *Daulatbazar* for examination. The most improved mode of investigation to which I had attained in *Rajshahi*, in respect both of the agents and forms employed, was applied to this thana; but the result disappointed me, for I found at the close of the inquiry that there was not a single Sanserit or Arabic School in the *Daulatbazar* thana, although the existence of such institutions in the district was undoubted.

The next district I visited was that of *Beerbhoom*, and there I adopted a modification of the plan of investigation which spread the inquiry over a much wider surface in an equal period of time, and with equal security for accuracy of detail. In *Rajshahi* and *Moorshedabad*, with the sanction of the General Committee, I had limited my investigations to one thana in each district; but it now occurred to me that, as I employed agents in that single thana under my own superintendence in collecting information, according to prescribed forms, this plan admitted of simultaneous extension to the other thanas of the same district. Accordingly, having selected one thana as before for special investigation, the results of which would fulfil the instructions I had received from the General Committee, I extended a more limited survey by means of separate agents over all the remaining thanas. The difference was that in the latter the inquiry was confined to the state of school-instruction, whereas in the selected thana it embraced also the state of domestic and adult instruction. For the special and more minute investigation of the selected thana, four, five, and sometimes six agents were employed; and for the more limited survey of the remaining thanas, one agent each was found sufficient. I did not deem it necessary to refer this modification of my plans to the General Committee for their approval, because no part of their instructions was superseded, and the modification consisted only in the additional labour and expense which I imposed on myself. The result was highly satisfactory, for it enabled me to pronounce with confidence on the state of school-instruction not in one thana only, but throughout all the thanas of a district. This extended and comprehensive course of investigation has been pursued in *Beerbhoom* and *Burdawn*, *South Behar* and *Tirhoot*. In the city of *Moorshedabad* the plan of investigation was made still more comprehensive, the special and minute inquiry into the state both of school-instruction and domestic and adult instruction having been extended to all the nineteen thanas included within the city jurisdiction.

With the exception of four or five *waqifkars* whom I permitted to accompany me from district to district, and whose superior intelligence compensated in some measure for the want of local experience in the districts where they were strangers, I had to instruct a separate set of persons in each district in a knowledge of

my forms of business and modes of investigation. Those whom I employed generally belonged to the class of office-expectants, numerous at every sudder station. Their objections to take employment were the smallness of the allowance I offered, generally seven and sometimes eight rupees a month; the shortness of the period allowed to do the work of one thana, viz., one month; and the severity of the labour in travelling from village to village, which was particularly felt in the rainy and hot seasons. The inducements I presented were the payment of half a month's wages in advance; an ample supply of stationery at my expense; the promise of travelling expenses if the work was well done; every facility in the way of perwannahs from the Magistrate; and the assurance, if satisfaction was given, of receiving a testimonial of character and service which the Magistrate had sometimes the goodness to intimate he would take into favourable consideration when occasion should occur. The promise of this bit of paper, the testimonial, especially when accompanied by an expression of the Magistrate's good feeling towards the object, and those who should aid it, generally removed all objections. Those who acceded to my terms, and whose general intelligence created a favourable impression in my mind, received copies of the tabular forms I employed, which they were directed to read with care and to copy correctly with their own hands. Every separate column was then explained to each candidate by my pandit, who, having pronounced him sufficiently instructed and qualified, brought him to me for examination. Generally I had occasion to confirm the decision of the pandit, sometimes to send the candidate back for further instruction, and occasionally to reject him altogether for stupidity and ignorance. Those who were finally approved always claimed and received a letter of appointment specifying their duties and their compensation, to which I added a warning against making any exaction or committing any oppression on the humbler classes of natives and an order to report progress weekly according to a prescribed form. They also received a perwannah addressed to the darogha of the thana by the magistrate requiring him to assist the waqifkars, and another from the same authority addressed to zemindars, talookdars, &c., requesting similar assistance. The waqifkars finally received ruled forms as models of those in which they were expected to make their returns, and they were then dismissed with every necessary verbal admonition and encouragement. During their absence a regular correspondence was maintained with each person; and when difficulties arose they were removed by advice or orders communicated by letter, or by personal supervision according to the nature of the case. When the waqifkars returned, their papers were minutely inspected; and if such discrepancies and inconsistencies were discovered as implied negligence, another person was sent to go over the same ground. When the returns made appeared

satisfactory, a correct copy of them was made for record, of which I prepared a very full abstract in English to provide against possible accident to the native returns. The payments due to the agents employed were made in my presence and into their own hands.

One source of error to which the results are liable is inseparable from the nature of the investigation. I was instructed that the only mode in which the desired information should be sought must be with the full consent and good will of the parties with whom I might come into communication, and that the employment of authoritative or compulsory means was to be avoided. I was fully disposed to act up to these instructions, which were indeed given at my own suggestion and were dictated by the obvious spirit and intent of the inquiry. Adherence to them, however, made me and my agents dependent on third parties for the correctness of certain details; for instance, the number of persons, male and female, of the teachable age in a family. It was, of course, not permitted to enter the houses and count the females or the children, and on these and similar points the statements of heads of families and of the headmen of villages were necessarily received; but in such cases there was generally a check against inaccuracy by the presence of many of the villagers whose curiosity drew them together to listen, and who often corrected each other in the answers that were made. Notwithstanding this partial check, the discrepancy in the returns of males and females between fourteen and five years of age, that is, the much less number of females than of males of that age, seems to prove that concealment was systematically practised. I cannot adequately account in any other way for the difference that exist in the returns, and which will afterwards more fully appear.

Another source of error belongs to the plan of employing agents under me to collect information. I have already explained how I was induced to adopt this plan; and I am satisfied that by means of it the inquiry has been made far more extensive in its scope, and probably even more complete and accurate in its details, than if I had attempted to see every thing with my own eyes and do every thing with my own hands. The efficiency of such agency must depend on the efficiency of the supervision to which it is subjected; but although I laboured to render my superintendence vigilant and searching, and although I believe that the returns I received are in general worthy of confidence as far as they go, yet I have no security that they are not defective. In traversing a district, my agents could not visit all the villages it contained, amounting to several thousands. This was physically impossible without protracting the inquiry beyond all reasonable limits. They were, therefore, compelled to depend either upon their personal knowledge, or upon the information that could be gathered from others as to the places possessing schools, every one of which was

invariably visited and examined; but that in no instance a village-institution has been overlooked is more than I dare affirm, and in point of fact I have sometimes discovered instances in which such institutions had at first escaped attention. I have thought it right to show that this source of error did exist; but I believe that such oversights still remaining undetected are, if any, very few.

In undertaking and conducting this inquiry, a danger which I have kept constantly in view, is lest the agents and servants whom I have found it necessary to employ should be guilty of levying exactions in my name from the villagers. I, therefore, from the first had it fully understood by all whom I permanently or temporarily employed, that if I could discover any of them, from the highest to the lowest, in any act of oppression, violence of deed or of language, or assumption of authority over the villagers, I should instantly dismiss him from his situation. In consequence of this intimation, some of my servants stipulated for an increase of wages beyond what they had previously demanded. This claim I allowed, conceiving that I had a stronger hold upon them than upon others who were not so open and candid. The occasions have been very few on which I have had any reason to believe that oppression was attempted or exercised, and on such occasions the guilty parties were instantly displaced.

The rich were more difficult to manage than the poor, sometimes, for purposes of their own grovelling to the dust before me; at other times superciliously refusing all communication and demanding that a separate *perwannah* should be addressed to them individually before they would give or permit their dependants to give any of the information required. The difficulty from the selfishness and self-sufficiency of the rich, was only greater than that arising from the extreme ignorance of the poor. Many villages did not contain a single person able to write, or even to count; and in such cases all the information had to be collected direct from house to house with very little aid from the villagers themselves. On one occasion I experienced open and pertinacious opposition from a single individual, a Government *gomashita*, who influenced a circle of villages by his authority; and when his objections were removed, those of the villagers also disappeared. On other occasions teachers both of common schools and schools of learning, from some misapprehension, have concealed themselves to escape the dreaded inquisition. On the other hand, I have had a message sent to me from a village, the inhabitants of which understood that I did not intend to visit them personally, requesting that I would not pass them by; and two pandits followed me to Calcutta from the Burdwan district to communicate the details respecting their schools, of which when in the district itself I had not been

able to find any trace. Generally, wherever the object of the inquiry has been understood, the disposition of the people has been friendly.

It is only the recollection of this object that will give any interest to the dry and minute details on which I am now about to enter. The object is to improve and extend public instruction; and the first step towards this object is to know, with all attainable accuracy, the present state of instruction in native institutions and in native society. The instructions given by the French Government with a series of statistical questions addressed to its diplomatic and consular agents furnish both a useful guide and a just criterion of such inquiries:—" *Le principal mérite des expériences consiste dans la précision; et si l'estime attachée à un travail est un premier encouragement à l'exécuter, vous devez être persuadés que le Gouvernement attache un grand prix à celui dont vous êtes chargés; qu'il en connaît les obstacles, les difficultés; et qu'il sait d'avance, que telle réponse en deux lignes vous aura coûté souvent un mois de recherches; mais ces deux lignes seront une vérité, et une vérité est un don éternel à l'humanité.*"\* In the spirit of these views I have sought to contribute some facts illustrative of the moral and intellectual condition of a branch of the human family; and in the prosecution of this purpose, I have endeavoured to keep constantly present to my own mind, to the minds of my native assistants, and to the minds of all with whom I have come into communication on the subject, the necessity of that rigid and undeviating adherence to accuracy of detail which can alone give to alleged facts the sacred and salutary character of truths.

### SECTION III.

#### DISTRICT OF MIDNAPORE.

The information respecting this district communicated by Mr. Malet is contained in tables framed differently from those which I employed, and to prevent confusion all the details derived from this source will be included in the present Section. Mr. Malet states that the tables may, to the best of his belief, be depended on as correct, having been drawn out by the different darogahs when under his orders as Acting Joint Magistrate. Like those which I have myself prepared, they are too voluminous to be embodied entire in this Report; but the following abstract shows the number of Bengali, Oorija, Persian,

\* See Hensso's *Theorie de la Statistique*, p. 73.

and English schools found in each thana and in the whole district.

Thanas.		Bengali.	Ooriya.	Persian.	English.
1.	Midnapore ...	51	...	10	
2.	Kasseegunge ...	78	2	5	
3.	Kulmeejole ...	121	...	5	
4.	Gurh Bettah ...	41	...	1	
5.	Tumlook ...	33	1	4	
6.	Muslundpore ...	1	4	1	
7.	Kadoryea ...	...	32	1	
8.	Sautpattee ..	17			
9.	Sildah ...	16			
10.	Putaspore ..	4	23	3	
11.	Mohespore ..	...	23		
12.	Dynmaree .	21	37	4	
13.	Pertabpore ...	39	7	2	
14.	Subung ...	108	19	7	
15.	Rymorbhandar		12		
16.	Sirsah ...	18		5	
17.	Chutrapal ...		22		
Total ....		518	192	48	

The total number of Bengali, Ooriya, and Persian schools is thus ascertained to be 778, and the proportion of each is also shown. The average number of schools in each thana is 45.7. Each school has a single teacher attached to it, there does not appear to be any instance in which two teachers are employed in the same school. The receipts of the teachers vary from one to seven or eight rupees per month, and the average of receipts by the whole body of teachers is Rupees 1-12-10. The total number of scholars is 10,129, of whom 9,819 are Hindus, and 310 Musalmans, the average number of scholars in each school being thus 13.02.

In the English school both English and Bengali are taught, and it is supported by voluntary contributions from the European and native gentlemen of Midnapore. The teacher receives a monthly salary of 50 rupees, and each scholar pays a monthly fee of one rupee. The number of scholars is 42, of whom 34 are Hindus, 6 Christians, and 2 Mahomedans. In one of the highest classes Christian books are read, it being optional with the scholars to enter it or not.

## SECTION IV.

NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOLS IN THE CITY AND DISTRICT OF MOORSHEDABAD; AND IN THE DISTRICTS OF BEERBHOOM, BURDWAN, SOUTH BEHAR, AND TIRHOOT.

The following tables show at one view the different classes of institutions found to exist in each locality I have visited, the total number of each class in each district, and the distribution of that number in the different thanas or police divisions:—

*City and district of Moorshedabad.*

Thanas.	Bengali.	Hindi.	Sanscrit.	Persian.	Arabic.	English.	Girls.
1. Pul Hasanullah Khan...	...	...	...	1	1		
2. Rajabazar.							
3. Shahnagar ...	1	...	1	1			
4. Gunditala.							
5. Mahajantoli.				2			
6. Nengta khali ...	1	...	3	1			
7. Manullah Bazar ...	2	...	...	4			
8. Mahimapur ...	2	2	...				
9. Asanpura ...	1	1	3				
10. Rajbari ...	3						
11. Kalikapur ...	6	...	6	1	1		
12. Kasimbazar ...	...	...	1	1			
13. Raniswar ...	1						
14. Berhampore.							
15. Garh Berhampore ...	2	2					
16. Akhra Ram Sahai ...	6						
17. Sujagunge ...	11	...	10	4	...	2	1
18. Jan Mohammadpur ...	2						
19. Mura Gaonwar ...	1			2			
20. Daulatbazar ..	23	...	...				
Total ...	62	5	24	17	2	2	1

The city and district of Moorshedabad contain in all thirty-seven thanas, of which nineteen belong to the city jurisdiction and eighteen to the district. I have already mentioned that, when I first visited the district, I limited my attention to one thana, that of Daulatbazar, or No. 20 of the above table; and it was on the occasion of my second visit that I extended my inquiries

on the most comprehensive plan to the remaining nineteen thanas of the table embracing the whole of the city jurisdiction. Of these nineteen, the first ten, viz., eight on the eastern and two on the western side of the Bhagirathi, are said to constitute the old city of Moorshedabad, or the city properly so called; and, in point of fact, several of the thanas included in the city jurisdiction are in every just sense Mofussil - thanas, containing only small and scattered villages and interspersed with cultivated fields, jungle, and morass. The table shows the distribution of schools to be very unequal. Of the twenty thanas there are four without any institution of education whatsoever; four others in each of which there is only one vernacular school; and two others in which there are a Persian and an Arabic school, or a Sanscrit and a Persian one, but no vernacular school at all. In twenty thanas the total number of schools of every description is 113, averaging 5.6 to each thana.

*District of Beerbhoom.*

Thanas.			Bengali.	Hindi.	Sanscrit.	Persian.	Arabic.	English.	Girls.
1.	Nanglia	...	30	...	2	4			
2.	Kharbana	...	23	...	1	4			
3.	Deoghur	...	6	5					
4.	Shahana	...	10	...	1				
5.	Sakalyapur	...	36	...	3	4			
6.	Uparbānda	...	2						
7.	Barān	...	29	...	1	8	2		
8.	Afzalpur	...	37	...	2	2			
9.	Nalahati	...	10	...	1	1			
10.	Siuri	...	27	...	10	12	...	1	1
11.	Bharatpur	...	34	...	7	11			
12.	Mayureshwar	...	52	...	...	5			
13.	Ketugram	...	21	...	15	7			
14.	Kasba	...	34	...	6	6		1	
15.	Labhpur	...	27	...	7	5			
16.	Krishnanagar	...	22	...	...	2			
17.	Dunigram	...	7						
Total			407	5	56	71	2	2	1

The Beerbhoom district was the first to which the comprehensive plan of investigation was applied, and the total number of schools of every description in the district is 544, averaging 32 to each thana. There are three thanas in which vernacular schools only are found without any institutions of Hindu or Mahomedan learning; and in those three thanas the number even of vernacular schools is considerably less than in the



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majority of the remaining thanas, where schools of learning, in greater or less number, are ascertained to exist.

*District of Burdwan.*

Thanas.	Bengali.	Sanscrit.	Persian.	Formal Arabic.	Learned Arabic.	English.	Girls.	Infants.
1. Culna ...	73	87	6	...	1	1	1	
2. Purbasthal ...	33	18	3	...	1			
3. Ganguriya ...	16	7	1	...	1			
4. Rayana ...	72	14	10	2				
5. Selimabad ...	66	8	2					
6. Indas ...	43	6	3	...	3			
7. Mantreshwar ...	43	6	9					
8. Balkrishna ...	26	25	12					
9. Potna ...	53	12	9					
10. Cutwa ...	31	13	...	...	...		1	
11. Burdwan ...	37	2	10	1	3	2	2	1
12. Mangalkot ...	45	10	4					
13. Ausgram ...	91	32	19					
Total ...	629	190	93	3	8	3	4	1

These thirteen thanas include the whole of the district which contains in all 931 schools of every class, averaging to each thana 71.6. There is no thana without both vernacular schools and schools of Hindu learning, and the number of each is greater than in any of the other districts I have visited.

*District of South Behar.*

Thanas.	Hindi.	Sanscrit.	Persian.	Arabic.	English.
1. Jehanabad ...	52	2	33	5	
2. Sheherghati ...	13	...	29		
3. Daudnagar ...	10	7	23		
4. Aurungabad ...	7	3	23		
5. Arwal ...	17	1	16	1	
6. Nabinagar ...	13	...	22		
7. Behar ...	12	1	37	2	
8. Nawabada ...	41	4	26		
9. Sahebgunge ...	121	9	70	4	1
Total ...	286	17	279	12	1

The total number of schools in the district is 605, averaging to each thana 67·2. The increase of Persian schools, nearly equalling the number of Hindi schools and accompanied by an increased number of schools of Arabic learning, is the fact which most arrests attention in this when compared with the preceding tables.

*District of Tirhoot.*

Thanas.	Hindi.	Sanscrit.	Persian.	Arabic.
1. Bhawara ...	5	7	1	
2. Bahera ...	3	3	4	
3. Mozufferpur ...	6	...	67	1
4. Kurnaul ...	4	2	7	
5. Lalgunge ...	7	...	27	
6. Madhaipur ...	4	...	1	
7. Supaul ...	5	7	6	
8. Jala ...	1	2	2	
9. Khanjauli ...	3	3	1	
10. Hajipur ...	10	3	16	
11. Mohua ...	1	5	22	
12. Nagarbasi ...	8	2	3	
13. Dulsingh Serai ...	7	...	14	
14. Darbhanga ...	14	7	45	3
15. Katra ...	2	2	9	
16. Riga ...	...	13	9	
• Total ...	80	56	234	4

The total number of schools in the district is 374, averaging to each thana 23·3. The very small number of Hindi schools and the large proportion of Sanscrit and Persian schools deserve attention. There are two thanas in each of which there is only one vernacular school, and a third in which not even one is to be found. It will be seen also that the last-mentioned thana is the one in which there is the largest number of Sanscrit schools.

## SECTION V.

### BENGALI AND HINDI SCHOOLS.

The preceding general view of the number and classes of native institutions of education will serve for the purpose of comparison; comparison of one district with another, and of the different divisions of the same district. But to understand the state of native instruction, a more minute consideration of each

class is required; and for that purpose I begin with the vernacular schools, because they are upon the whole the most numerous, and because they most directly and most powerfully influence the character of the people. To prevent the repetition of remarks and statements of general application, I shall assume that the readers of this report are acquainted with the two reports by which it has been preceded.

*City and district of Moorshedabad.*

In 20 thanas of this city and district there are 67 vernacular schools, of which 62 are Bengali and 5 Hindi. The latter are an effect of the residence of natives of the Western Provinces in the city. Some of these settle only for temporary purposes of service and trade, and do not bring their families with them. Another class consists of those who settle permanently, are surrounded by their friends and relatives, and generally engage in the business of shop-keepers, money-lenders, or cloth-merchants, retaining the Hindi language and for the most part the customs and practices of Western Hindus. It is these permanent settlers that have established Hindi schools for the instruction of their children.

There are eleven villages, mohallas, or bazars, containing each two vernacular schools, or twenty-two in all, of which twenty are Bengali and two Hindi. The remaining forty-five are found each in a different village or mohalla.

The number of teachers is the same as the number of schools, and their average age is 44·8 years. The following list exhibits the different castes of the Hindu teachers and the number of each caste:—

Kayastha	...	39	Suvarnabanik	...	1
Brahman	...	14	Kshetriya	...	1
Aguri	...	3	Chhatri	...	1
Sunri	...	2	Sadgop	...	1
Kaivarta	...	2	Chandal	...	1
Vaidya	...	1			

Besides these, there is one Bengali school taught by a Musalman. To teach reading, writing, and accounts is considered the proper duty of the Kayastha or writer-caste, and a Brahman, a Vaidya, or a Kshetriya, is supposed to degrade himself by engaging in such an occupation; while, on the other hand, any of the castes inferior to the Kayastha acquire by the same means increased respect. Parents of good caste do not hesitate to send their children to schools conducted by teachers of

an inferior caste and even of a different religion. For instance, the Musalman teacher above-mentioned has Hindus of good caste among his scholars, and this is equally true of the Chandal and other low-caste teachers enumerated.

Of these teachers there are five who give their instructions gratuitously, of whom two are family-priests, one is a weaver, and another a retail-dealer. One of the priests, although he receives no fixed payment either in the form of monthly wages from the parents, or in the form of fees for each scholar, accepts at the period of the great annual festival, or Durga Puja, a present consisting of uncooked rice, pulse, salt, oil, vegetables, wood, cooking utensils, &c.; and the weaver, although he does not exact any fees from his scholars, receives what they offer him. His school was opened only about a month before I visited the district, and he had received within that time ten pice from the different scholars to aid him in bearing incidental expenses. By day he works as a weaver for his livelihood, and teaches in the evening. There are also many cases in which paid teacher instructs a greater or less number of their scholars gratuitously. It gives me great pleasure to mention these instances of unostentatious benevolence in the humblest ranks of native society. They prove both the merit attached to the communication of knowledge, and the readiness to receive instruction on the part of many who can offer no compensation for it. A people amongst whom such disposition are found presents both good materials to work upon and good instruments to work with.

The majority of teachers are remunerated for their services in various ways. Some receive monthly wages which are generally paid by one person, others monthly fees from each scholar varying from one to eight annas; and others, with or without wages or fees, receive perquisites of various kinds, consisting of uncooked food (*shidha*) in quantity and value at the option of the giver, subsistence-money (*khoraki*), generally amounting to two or three annas a month from each scholar, or to two or three rupees a month from the whole, weekly presents for making Saturday a holiday varying from one pice to four pice a month from each scholar, or presents at the Durga Puja (*parvati*) either in money or clothes varying from eight annas to four or five rupees per annum from the whole body of scholars. The following enumeration shows the various modes of remuneration adopted, and the amount of monthly receipts by all the teachers of Bengali and Hindi schools:—

		Rs.	As.	P.
2	Teachers receive monthly wages only	...	10	15 0
10	" " " fees only	...	39	4 6
1	" " " perquisites only	...	0	3 0
18	" " " fees and perquisites	...	87	3 3

				Rs.	As.	P.
1	Teacher receive	uncooked food	...	5	11	6
5	"	subsistence-	...			
		money	...	38	3	0
1	"	fees and weekly presents	..	2	14	0
4	"	fees and annual presents	...	20	8	0
1	"	fees, uncooked food, and				
		subsistence-money	..	4	11	0
5	"	fees, uncooked food, and				
		weekly presents	...	24	5	3
2	"	fees, uncooked food, and				
		annual presents	...	5	11	3
5	"	fees, subsistence-money,				
		and annual presents	...	23	9	9
3	"	fees, weekly presents,				
		and annual presents	...	13	3	9
2	"	fees, uncooked food,				
		weekly presents, and				
		subsistence-money	...	14	4	3
1	"	fees, uncooked food,				
		weekly presents, and				
		annual presents	...	0	15	0
1	"	fees, uncooked food,				
		annual presents, and				
		subsistence-money	...	5	9	3

*It thus appears that 62 teachers receive in all rupees 297-6-9, which averages to each teacher rupees 4-12-9 per month.*

The school-house is sometimes built at the expense of the teacher, sometimes at the expense of some comparatively wealthy person whose son attends school; sometimes by general subscription, the teacher contributing a little, the parents a little, the scholars aiding by their labour, and some benevolent person granting a donation of land, of money, or of materials. In a majority of instances there is no school-house, in which case the house of the teacher, a family or village temple, an out-house of one of the parents, the hut assigned for the entertainment of travellers, the corner of a shop, the portico of a mosque, or the shade of a tree, is employed for that purpose.

In 67 schools the total number of scholars is 1,080, giving to each school an average of 16.1. The average present age of 1,080 scholars, that is, their average age at the time when the different schools were visited, was 10.1 years. The average age of 778 scholars at the time when they entered school was 6.03 years, and their average age at the time when they would probably leave school was estimated to be 16.5 years. It would appear from this that they generally pass about ten years at school.

The total number of Hindu scholars is 998, of whom 18 were absent at the time the schools were visited; and the total number of Musalman scholars is 82, of whom 4 were absent. The following is an enumeration of the castes of the Hindu scholars and of the number belonging to each:—

Brahman	... 181	Kansyabanik	... 7
Kayastha	... 129	Tili	... 6
Kaivarta.	... 96	Aguri	... 5
Suvarnabanik	... 62	Luniar	... 5
Gandhabanik	... 59	Halwaikar	... 4
Tanti	... 56	Barayi	... 4
Sunri	... 39	Mali	... 4
Teli	... 36	Daibajna	... 4
Mayra	... 29	Chandal	... 4
Kshetriya	... 26	Gaurbanik	... 3
Kurmi	... 24	Kandu	... 3
Vaishnava	... 24	Kalawar	... 3
Tamli	... 22	Kayali	... 3
Goala	... 19	Sadgop	... 2
Mala	... 16	Kahar	... 2
Napit	... 15	Jalia	... 2
Vaidya	... 14	Lahari	... 2
Sutar	... 13	Bagdhi	... 2
Osawal	... 12	Vaisya	... 1
Swarnakar	... 11	Kalu	... 1
Yugi	... 10	Pashi	... 1
Chhatri	... 9	Gareti	... 1
Kamat	... 9	Dhoba	... 1
Kumar	... 8	Kairi	... 1
Rajput	... 7	Muchi	... 1

This enumeration shows in what classes of Hindu society vernacular instruction is chiefly found, and in what classes it becomes increasingly deficient. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the latter, as compared with the former, are losing ground. The fact is quite the reverse: they are gaining ground, and are almost imperceptibly acquiring a sense of the value even of that humble instruction which is within their reach, but from which, by the customs of society, they were formerly almost wholly debarred. The time is not distant when it would have been considered contrary to all the maxims of Hindu civilization that individuals of the *Mala*, *Chandal*, *Kahar*, *Jalia*, *Lahari*, *Bagdhi*, *Dhoba*, and *Muchi* castes should learn to read, write, and keep accounts; and if some aged and venerable brahman who has passed his life removed from European contamination were told that these low castes are now raising their aspirations so high, he would deplore it as one of the many proofs of the gross and increasing degeneracy

of the age. The encroachment of these castes on the outskirts of learning is a spontaneous movement in native society, the effect of a strong foreign rule unshackled by native usages and prejudices, and protecting all in the enjoyment of equal rights.

It has been mentioned in former reports that there are four stages in a course of vernacular instruction; but there is this difference between Bengali and Hindi schools, that whereas in the second and third stages of the former the palm-leaf and plantain-leaf are generally used, in the same stages of the latter a wooden-board and brazen plate are employed as the materials on which lessons in writing and accounts are given. Two modes are adopted of writing on the brazen plate,—*first*, by dissolving chalk in water to a consistence that permits the scholar to rub it on the plate where it dries and receives the impression of a hard pin or reed-pen; and *second*, by writing on the plate with chalk-ink. The former is the mode chiefly employed in writing on the board, and mud is sometimes substituted for moistened chalk. The following statement exhibits the distribution of the total number of scholars into the four stages of instruction:—

(a)	Scholars who write on the ground	...	71	
(b)	{ " " " on the palm-leaf	...	525	} 560
	{ " " " on the wooden-board	...	35	
(c)	{ " " " on the plantain-leaf	...	3	} 12
	{ " " " on the brazen plate	...	9	
(d)	" " " on paper	...	437	

It thus appears that nearly the whole number of scholars is employed in the second and fourth stages, the former embracing the commencement, and the latter the completion, of instruction in accounts.

Limited as is the utmost scope of vernacular instruction, there are several gradations in the attainments of the teachers and in the instructions which they bestow. Thus in 4 Hindi schools commercial accounts only, in 14 Bengali schools agricultural accounts only, and in 10 Bengali schools both commercial and agricultural accounts are taught. In 3 schools of which one is Hindi and two are Bengali, written works chiefly in the vernacular language are taught in addition to commercial accounts; and in 36 Bengali schools those works are taught in addition both to commercial and agricultural accounts.

In the only Hindi school in which vernacular works are used, those works are the *Dan Lila* and *Dadhi Lila*, both describing the boyish amusements of Krishna, the former his boating pleasures on the Jumna in the neighbourhood of Brindavan, and the latter the tricks he played the milkmen of that place with his youthful companions. In only one Bengali school the *Guru Bandana* was found in use, a doggetel composition containing an expression of the respect and devotion due from the scholar to his teacher. The

arithmetical rules of *Subhankar* were employed in 32 schools. The *Guru Dakshina*, another doggerel composition which is sung by the elder boys of a school from house to house to elicit donations for their master, was taught in three schools. In addition to these vernacular works, a small portion of the Sanscrit vocabulary of *Amara Singh* was found to be in use in one Bengali school; in another a work called *Sabda Subanta*, containing the rules of Sanscrit orthography, the permutations of letters in combination, and examples of the declension of nouns; and in 14 schools the Sanscrit verses of *Chanakya*, containing the praises of learning and precepts of morality, were read or committed to memory. All the preceding works, both vernacular and Sanscrit, were taught either from manuscripts or *memoriter*; but in five schools the *Shishu Bodh* was employed, a modern compilation in print, containing *Subhankar*, *Chanakya*, and *Guru Dakshina*. One teacher I found in possession of the following works in manuscript, which he professed to employ for the instruction of his scholars; viz., the arithmetic of *Ugra Bataram*, consisting of practical and imaginary examples which are worked; the modes of epistolary address by the same author; *Subhankar*; *Saraswati Bandana*; and *Aradhan Das's Man Bhanjan* or Anger Removed, and *Kalanka Bhanjan* or Disgrace Removed, both relating to the loves of Radha and Krishna. In addition to the preceding, which were all in Bengali, he had also in Sanscrit the verses of *Chanakya* and the conjugation of the substantive verb *bhu*. Another teacher had the following printed works, viz., *Hitopadesh*, a Serampore school-book; the School book Society's *Nitikatha* or Moral Instructions, 1st Part, 3rd Edition, 1818; the same Society's Instructions for modelling and conducting Schools, 1819; Do.'s Geography, Chapter III. Introduction to Asia, 1819; *Jyotis Bibaran*, a Serampore school-book on astronomy; the seven first numbers of the Serampore *Digdarsan* or India Youth's Magazine; and a Serampore missionary tract called *Nitivakya*. This person was formerly in the employment of a European gentleman who supported a Bengali school subsequently discontinued, and the books remaining in the teacher's hands are preserved as curiosities, or as heir-looms to be admired; not used.

#### *District of Beerbhoom.*

The seventeen thanas enumerated in Section IV. comprise the whole of this district and contain 412 vernacular schools, of which 407 are Bengali and 5 are reckoned as Hindi schools, but in fact Hindi is exclusively taught in one only, and in the remaining four both Bengali and Hindi are taught. In one school the Hindi language is written in the Bengali as well as in the Nagari characters. Hindi instruction, even to this limited extent, is in demand only in one thana, that of Deoghur, which is the most north-westerly of



the police divisions, and adjoins the districts of Bhaugulpoor and Monghyr, where Hindi prevails.

There are eight villages that contain each three vernacular schools, fifteen that contain each two, and three hundred and fifty-eight containing each one.

The number of teachers is 412, of whom one is a Christian, four are Musalmans, and the remainder are Hindus. The average age of all the teachers is 38·3 years. The following list exhibits the castes of the Hindu teachers and the number of each :—

Kayastha	...	256	Yugi	...	2
Brahman	...	86	Tanti	...	2
Sadgop	...	12	Kalu	...	2
Vaishnava	...	8	Sunri	...	2
Gandhabanik	...	5	Swaranakar	...	1
Suvarnabanik	...	5	Rajput	...	1
Bhatta	...	4	Napit	...	1
Kaivarta	...	4	Barayi	...	1
Mayra	...	4	Chhatri	...	1
Goala	...	3	Dhoba	...	1
Vaidya	...	2	Mala	...	1
Aguri	...	2	Chandal	...	1

The *Kalu*, *Sunri*, *Dhoba*, *Mala*, and *Chandal*, castes are of those that were generally deemed to be excluded from the benefits of instruction in letters ; but the above enumeration shows that some individuals of those castes have even become instructors of others. The Christian teacher mentioned above is employed in teaching a Missionary school.

There are not fewer than eleven teachers who instruct their scholars gratuitously, and of these there are not less than four in one thana, that of Sakalyapur. The scholars of one are poor, and he is contented to teach them without pay, receiving his subsistence from the other members of his family. Another is the head-man of the village, and from motives of benevolence or piety he instructs the children who please to attend him. A third is a respectable inhabitant of the village in which he resides, who employs his declining age in the gratuitous instruction of the young, having a farm by which he supports himself and family. Five other support themselves and families by farming, of whom one is a paralytic. The paid teachers are remunerated as follows :—

				Rs.	As.	P.
2	teachers receive monthly wages only	...		9	4	0
71	" " " fees only	...		157	7	0
1	" receives " perquisites only	...		0	10	0
2	" receive " wages and perquisites...	...		4	8	0
325	" " " fees and perquisites	...		1,125	7	9

It thus appears that 401 teachers receive in all rupees 1,297-4-9, averaging to each rupees 3-3-9 per month. At the time I visited this district I had not adopted the practice of noting the different sorts of perquisites received by teachers, every thing coming under that denomination being recorded in one sum.

Regarding the school-houses of this district, I shall transcribe only a few of my notes which appear to contain any thing peculiar or characteristic. In one village the school-house was built by the teacher at a cost in money of rupees 1-4, with the aid of his pupils who brought materials from the jungle. In another the school-house was built by the scholars at a cost of rupees 1-8, in addition to their own labour. The house is thatched, and the walls consist of branches and leaves of the palm and *sal* trees interlaced. In a third the scholars assembled in the village place of worship, and they were engaged in building a school-house with thatched roof, beams and rafters, and mud-walls, which was expected to cost in all about rupees ten, besides their labour. Several school-houses are noted as having been built by subscription amongst the parents. *Baithak-khanas*, *kachahris*, storerooms, verandas, shops, and temples, are used here as elsewhere. The temples consecrated to Yama, the Judge of the Departed, the Minos of Hinduism, I have found frequently used as school-houses in this district in consequence of the extent to which the worship of that deity under the title of Dharmaraj prevails.

In 412 schools the total number of scholars is 6,383, giving to each school an average of 15.14, and the average age of the whole number at the time when the different schools were visited was 10.05 years. The age of entering and the probable age of leaving school were not ascertained in this district.

Of the whole number of scholars, 3 are Dhangars, a tribe of Coles; 3 are Sonthals, another forest-tribe; 20 are Christians, the children of native converts taught in a Missionary school; and 232 are Musalmans. All the rest, amounting to 6,125, are Hindus, and the number of each Hindu caste is exhibited in the following list:—

Brahman	... 1,853	Tamli	... 127
Göala	... 560	Kamar	... 109
Gandhabanik	... 529	Kaivarta	... 89
Kayastha	... 487	Napit	... 79
Sadgop	... 290	Vaidya	... 71
Kalu	... 258	Rajput	... 68
Mayra	... 248	Barayi	... 62
Tanji	... 196	Swarnakar	... 53
Suvarnabanik	... 184	Kshatriya	... 52
Sunri	... 164	Sutar	... 50
Vaishnava	... 161	Kumar	... 43

Teli	...	38	Kurmi	...	7
Tili	...	35	Lahari	...	5
Aguri	...	28	Mali	...	4
Dhoba	...	28	Bahila	...	4
Chhatri	...	24	Muchi	...	3
Punra	...	23	Bhumiya	...	2
Dom	...	23	Dhanuk	...	2
Daivajna	...	17	Konra	...	2
Keot	...	15	Ganrar	...	2
Bagdhi	...	14	Matiya	...	2
Baiti	...	13	Agradani	...	1
Hari	...	13	Magadha	...	1
Mal	...	12	Sanyasi	...	1
Vaishya	...	11	Halwaikar	...	1
Sankhabanik	...	9	Bauri	...	1
Kansyabanik	...	9	Dulia	...	1
Bhatta	...	9	Jalia	...	1
Yugi	...	9	Byadha	...	1
Net	...	8	Chandal	...	1
Sarak	...	7			

This is the first district in which my arrangements enabled me to obtain a complete view of the amount and distribution of vernacular instruction, with a confidence nearly approaching to certainty that no important omission had been made. From the number of scholars of the brahman caste, we may infer not only the large number of brahman families in the district, but also, in some measure, the extent to which they have engaged in the worldly employments prohibited to their caste. Another circumstance worthy of notice is the comparatively large number of scholars of the *Kalu* and *Sunri* castes, which are not only on religious grounds excluded from association with brahmins, but, according to former custom and usage, were generally deemed unworthy of participating in the advantages of literary instruction even in the humblest forms. The appearance also of the *Dom*, *Keot*, *Hari*, and other low castes in the list of scholars, although in less numbers, affords additional and still stronger illustrations of the increasing desire for instruction and of the unforced efforts to obtain it; for those castes are the lowest of the low, and were formerly as undesirous of instruction in letters as they were deemed unworthy of it. In the only Missionary school of this class in the district there are only two Hindu scholars, one of the *Dom* and the other of the *Hari* caste, from which it will be seen that all the other scholars of low caste are found in schools of exclusively native origin and entirely under native management.

In the Hindi schools of this district the wooden board is used, but not the brazen plate to write upon; and in the Bergali schools,

besides the plantain-leaf, the leaf of the *sâl* tree is used in the third stage of instruction. The following is the distribution of the scholars into the four established grades:—

(a)	Scholars who write on the ground	...	372
(b)	{ on the palm-leaf ...	... 3,551	} 3,570
	{ on the wooden board ...	... 19	
(c)	{ on the plantain-leaf ...	... 299	} 397
	{ on the sâl-leaf ...	... 98	
(d)	on paper ...	...	2,044

The former remark applies here also, that nearly all the scholars are in the second and fourth stages of instruction.

In one school Christian instruction is communicated, in 35 schools commercial accounts only, in 47 schools agricultural accounts only, and in 316 schools both commercial and agricultural are taught. In one school commercial accounts and written works, and in 12 schools both commercial and agricultural accounts with written works are taught.

*Subhankar* was found in use in eight schools, and in one school a Bengali translation from Sanscrit called the *Nalaka of Jayadewa* or *Gita Govinda* relating to the amours of Radha and Krishna. In one school two works were employed as school books called *Ashta Dhatu* and *Ashta Sabdi*, containing, respectively, the conjugation of eight Sanscrit verbs and the declension of eight Sanscrit nouns; and in four schools the verses of *Chanakya* were taught; in one with, and in three without, a Bengali translation.

### *District of Burdwan.*

The thirteen thanas of this district contain in all 629 Bengali schools, of which seven are found in one village, six in another, and five in a third. Nine villages contain three each; fifty-nine two each; and four hundred and sixty-six one each.

The number of teachers is 639, being ten in excess of the number of schools. Nine Missionary schools and one supported by the Rajah of Burdwan are conducted each by two teachers. Six hundred and sixteen common village schools and four Missionary schools are taught by the same number of teachers. The average age of all the teachers is 39.05 years. Three of the teachers are Christians, nine are Musalmans, and six hundred and twenty-seven are Hindus. The following are the castes of the Hindu teachers and the number of each:—

Kayastha	... 369	Vaishnava	... 13
Brahman	... 107	Teli	... 10
Sadgop	... 50	Bhatta	... 9
Agari	... 30	Gandhabani	... 6

Kaivarta	...	5	Vaidya	...	1
Chandal	...	4	Yugi	...	1
Kumar	...	3	Barayi	...	1
Napit	...	3	Kamar	...	1
Suvarnabanik	...	2	Mayra	...	1
Göala	...	2	Dhoba	...	1
Bagdhi	...	2	Rajput	...	1
Naga	...	1	Kalu	...	1
Tanti	...	1	Sunri	...	1
Daivajna	...	1			

In this list the *Sunri*, *Kalu*, *Dhoba*, *Bagdhi*, and *Chandal*, castes are those which the long established usages of the country would have either discouraged or altogether excluded from a knowledge of letters. Two of the teachers are lepers.

In this district I ascertained that there were four teachers who taught gratuitously, of whom one was a Musalman and three Hindus, and of the latter one was a Chandal.

The paid teachers are thus sub-divided according to the nature and amount of the remuneration which they receive:—

				Rs.	As.	P.
26	receive monthly wages only	...	...	126	0	0
58	" " fees only	...	...	136	1	9
2	" " wages and uncooked victuals	...	...	10	8	0
384	" " fees and uncooked victuals	...	...	1,049	0	6
8	" " fees and weekly presents	...	...	35	11	0
12	" " fees and annual presents	...	...	49	9	0
53	" " fees, uncooked victuals, and weekly presents	...	...	261	14	0
57	" " fees, uncooked victuals, and annual presents	...	...	217	8	6
1	receives monthly fees, weekly presents, and annual presents	...	...	4	1	0
34	receive monthly fees, uncooked victuals, weekly presents, and annual presents	...	...	186	0	0

Thus 635 teachers receive in all rupees 2,076-5-9, which averages to each teacher per month rupees 3-4-3. Many of the teachers, who do not acquire sufficient for their livelihood by teaching, eke out their income by engaging in farming, in money-lending, in retail-trade, in weaving, in worldly service, in temple-service, &c.; and all of them have occasional presents from the scholars during the progress of their education, and even after they have left school, which cannot be ascertained or estimated. The teachers of the Missionary schools and of the school supported by the Rajah of Burdwan are paid, but not by the parents of the scholars. In the Missionary schools the pupils, besides receiving gratuitous instruction, are also furnished with paper, pens, ink, leaves, and books. In the school of the Rajah of Burdwan similar materials are supplied, together with a daily payment of the one-sixteenth part of an anna (five gundas of cowries, *i. e.*, 20 cowries or 1 *bari*) to each scholar for refreshments. Three of the Hindu scholars are wholly fed at the expense of the Rajah for a period

of four years, after which they may continue to prosecute their studies as long as they please, but without that indulgence. In one of the schools under Missionary superintendence one rupee per month is allowed for the hire of a boat to bring some of the scholars over a stream and to convey them back.

The remarks respecting the school-houses in the district of Beerbhoom are generally applicable to those of Burdwan, except that in the latter I have met with more numerous instances in which school-houses have been built by general subscription amongst the parents of the scholars.

In 629 schools conducted by 639 teachers the total number of scholars is 13,190, giving to each school an average of 20.9 scholars. The average age of the whole number at the time when the different schools were visited was 9.9 years, the average age at the time when they entered school was 5.7 years, and the average age at the time when they would probably leave school was estimated to be 16.6 years. The average period passed at school would thus appear to be about eleven years.

Of the whole number of scholars 13 are Christians, 769 Musalmans, and 12,408 Hindus. The following enumeration exhibits the castes of the Hindu scholars and the number of each:—

Brahman	3,129	Chandal	61
Kyastha	1,846	Chhatra	35
Sadgop	1,254	Kansyabanik	34
Aguri	787	Daivajna	33
Gandhabanik	606	Barayi	32
Teli	371	Jalia	28
Góala	311	Sankhabanik	27
Mayra	281	Mali	26
Kamar	262	Dhoba	24
Suvarnabanik	261	Rajput	21
Tanti	249	Barti	16
Tamli	242	Muchi	16
Kaivarta	223	Bhatta	11
Kalu	207	Hari	11
Tili	200	Agradani	8
Napit	192	Kurmi	8
Vaishnava	189	Tior	4
Sunri	188	Kanyar	3
Kshatriya	161	Lahari	3
Bagdhi	138	Garar	2
Yugi	131	Kahar	2
Vaidya	125	Mal	2
Sutar	108	Kandu	1
Kumar	95	Matiya	1
Swarnakar	81	Pashi	1
Dom	61		

Compared with the preceding districts there is a much larger number of scholars, and all the castes, both high and low, partake of the increase. There are some low castes also which here appear for the first time as the *Tior*, *Garar*, and *Mal* castes. The number of scholars of low caste is so considerable that, without explanation, it might be supposed that they were chiefly found in the Missionary schools which are more numerous in this district than in any other I have visited, and which, of course, do not recognize distinctions of caste. The fact, however, is otherwise, for the number of scholars belonging to sixteen of the lowest castes amounts to 760, of whom only 86 are found in Missionary schools, and the remaining number in native schools. This fact appears to be of sufficient interest to be exhibited in detail.

		Kalu.	Sunri.	Bagdhi	Dom.	Chandal.	Jalia.	Dhoba.	Muchi-	Hari.	Tior.	Labari.	Garar.	Kuhar.	Mal	Matiya	Peshu.
13 Missionary Schools contain	}	33	20	21	3	1	..	5	...	...	2				...		1
616 Native Schools contain	}	174	168	117	58	60	28	19	16	11	2	3	2	2	2	1	

It thus appears that the proportion of scholars of these low castes in Missionary schools is high; but the total number of the same castes in native schools is so considerable as to prove that other and independent causes are in operation, stimulating the humblest classes of native society to the improvement of their condition and to the attainment of those advantages, hitherto for the most part denied to them, that arise from a knowledge of letters.

The following is the distribution of the scholars into the four established grades of instruction:—

(a)	Scholars who write on the ground	...	702
(b)	" " " palm-leaf	...	7,113
(c)	" " " plantain-leaf	...	2,765
(d)	" " " paper	...	2,610

In 13 schools Christian instruction is communicated, in one school commercial accounts only, in three schools agricultural accounts only, and in 186 schools both accounts are taught. In one school commercial accounts and written works, in two schools agricultural account and written works, and in 423 schools both descriptions of accounts and written works are taught.

• Most of the written works mentioned as school books under the heads of Moorshedabad and Beerbhoom are also used in this district; and in addition the following works were found in various schools, viz., the *Ganga Bandana*, describing the virtues of the river-goddess; the *Yugadya Bandana*, describing those of the goddess Durga; *Data Karan*, the generous Karna, illustrating the

beneficence and hospitality of Karna, the prime-minister of Duryodhâna, and the Hatim Tai of India, and the *Adi Parva*, or first chapter of the Mahabarat, translated into Bengali by Kasi Das.

### District of South Behar.

The nine thanas of this district contain in all 285 Hindi schools, of which two villages contain seven each, two contain four each, two contain three each, twelve contain two each, and two hundred and thirty-three contain one each.

The number of teachers is the same as the number of schools, and their average age is 36 years. One of them is a Musalman, and the rest are Hindus. The following are the castes of the Hindu teachers and the number of each :—

Kayastha	...	278	Teli	...	...	1
Magadha	...	2	Kairi	...	...	1
Gandhabanik	...	1	Sonar	...	...	1

From this list it is evident that vernacular instruction is almost wholly in the hands of the Kayastha or writer caste, and that the institutions of the country are still in this respect in almost unabated force. There are no brahman-teachers, and only two of a caste considered superior to the Kayastha or writer caste, viz., the Magadha caste, which gave its name to the country when it was under Bauddha rule.

There are no teachers who give gratuitous instruction. The teachers are thus remunerated :—

			Rs.	As	P
2	receive monthly wages only	..	...	6	0 0
8	" " fees only	..	...	7	5 0
1	" " wages and subsistence-money	..	...	2	8 0
5	" " fees and uncooked food	..	...	11	0 9
10	" " fees and subsistence-money	..	...	17	1 9
10	" " fees and weekly presents	..	...	10	15 6
9	" " fees and annual presents	..	...	12	0 9
2	" " fees, uncooked food, and subsistence-money	..	...	3	0 3
1	" " fees, uncooked food, and weekly presents	..	...	3	15 0
2	" " fees, uncooked food, and annual presents	..	...	2	12 3
17	" " fees, subsistence-money, and weekly presents	..	...	17	5 9
24	" " fees, subsistence-money, and annual presents	..	...	39	14 6
23	" " fees, weekly presents, and annual presents	..	...	59	1 9
1	" " fees, uncooked food, subsistence-money and weekly presents	..	...	0	9 3
1	" " wages, uncooked food, subsistence-money, and annual presents	..	...	1	9 9
3	" " fees, uncooked food, subsistence-money, and annual presents	..	...	7	4 0
1	" " wages, uncooked food, weekly presents, and annual presents	..	...	3	11 6
32	" " fees, uncooked food, weekly presents, and annual presents	..	...	81	6 0
80	" " fees, subsistence-money, weekly presents, and annual presents	..	...	173	2 0
52	" " fees, uncooked food, subsistence-money, weekly presents, and annual presents	..	...	125	0 9



Thus 285 teachers receive in all rupees 585-12-6, which averages to each teacher rupees 2-0-10 per month.

For school-bouses the teachers in this district have recourse to the various expedients adopted in the Bengal districts, and amongst others employ shops, sugar-houses, thresholds, and verandahs of private dwellings, and vacant spaces at the sides of the roads.

In 285 schools the total number of scholars is 3,090, giving to each school an average of 10·8. The average age of the scholars at the time when the different schools were visited was 9·3 years, their average age at the time when they entered school was 7·9 years, and the average age at the time when they would probably leave school was 15·7 years. The average period passed at school would thus appear to be between seven and eight years.

Of the scholars 172 are Musalmans, and 2,918 are Hindus, whom 14 were absent at the time when the schools were visited. The following are the castes of the latter and the number of each:—

Gandabanik	...	540	Mali	...	16
Magadha	...	468	Tamli	...	16
Teli	...	271	Bhatta	...	15
Brahman	...	256	Banawar	...	14
Kayastha	...	220	Sanyasi	...	14
Kairi	...	200	Lohar	...	13
Rajput	...	150	Lahari	...	13
Kahar	...	102	Kumar	...	10
Halwaikar	...	66	Kandu	...	9
Sunri	...	56	Yugi	...	8
Kurmi	...	55	Beldar	...	8
Swarnakar	...	51	Bundela	...	4
Mahuri	...	42	Patowar	...	4
Napit	...	39	Vaishnava	...	2
Goala	...	38	Khatki	...	2
Barhai	...	35	Chhatri	...	1
Suvarnabanik	...	31	Tanti	...	1
Dosad	...	23	Barayi	...	1
Pashi	...	22	Baiti	...	1
Aguri	...	21	Dhoba	...	1
Luniar	...	21	Musahar	...	1
Kansyabanik	...	20	Churikara	...	1
Kshatriya	...	18	Kayali	...	1
Kalawar	...	18	Mahla	...	1

The small number of Kayastha scholars contrasts with the almost exclusive possession by that caste of the business of vernacular teaching; and we meet here also, for the first time, with three inferior castes, each of which furnishes a larger number of scholars than the brahman caste. The very low and degraded castes, as

the *Dosad*, *Pashi*, *Luniar*, &c., are comparatively numerous, and have begun here also to seek a participation in the benefits of vernacular instruction.

In Behar leaves are not in use as a material for writing on, in the second and third stages of instruction the wooden-board and brazen-plate are exclusively employed. The following is the distribution of the scholars into the four established grades :—

(a) scholars who write on the ground	...	1,506
(b) „ „ on the wooden-board	...	1,503
(c) „ „ on the brazen-plate	...	42
(d) „ „ on paper	...	39

In 36 schools commercial accounts only, in 20 schools agricultural accounts only, in 229 schools both commercial and agricultural accounts are taught, and in only two schools vernacular works are employed. The works of this description are the *Dan Lila* and *Dadhi Lila* already described; *Sudam Charitra*, an account of Sudam, one of the juvenile companions of Krishna; *Ram Janma*, an account of the birth of Ram, translated from the Ramayana by Tulasi Das; and the *Sindar Kanda* of the Ramayana, one of the books of that poem,—all in the Hindi language.

#### District of Tirhoot.

The 16 thanas of this district contain in all 80 Hindi schools, of which one village contains three, six villages contain two each, and sixty-five villages contain one each.

The number of teachers is also 80, and their average age is 34·8 years. They are all Hindus, and are thus divided in respect of caste :—

Kayastha ... 77 | Gandhabanik ... 2 | Brahman ... 1

This sufficiently shows that here also the writer-caste is almost exclusively engaged in the business of teaching common schools.

There are no teachers who give gratuitous instruction, and the teachers are thus remunerated :—

		Rs	As	P.
1	receives monthly wages only	...	0	10 0
3	receive „ fees only	...	0	14 0
1	receives subsistence-money only	...	1	4 9
1	„ monthly wages and uncooked food	...	2	8 0
1	„ „ wages and subsistence-money	...	2	0 0
6	receive „ fees and „	...	9	2 6
1	receives „ fees and weekly presents	...	0	4 6
9	receive „ fees and annual „	...	9	10 6
1	receives weekly presents and annual presents	...	2	11 9
2	receive monthly wages, uncooked food, and subsistence-money	...	2	4 0
3	„ „ fees, „ „	...	3	4 0
1	receives „ fees, uncooked food, and annual presents	...	0	8 0

			Rs.	As.	P.
4 receive	monthly	fees, subsistence-money, and weekly presents	4	10	0
1 receives	"	wages, ditto, and annual presents	...	8	4 3
11 receive	"	fees, " "	...	30	8 3
7	"	fees, weekly presents, and annual presents	...	4	3 9
12	"	wages, uncooked food, subsistence-money, and weekly presents	...	21	10 6
5	"	fees, ditto, ditto, ditto	...	8	6 6
1 receives	"	fees, ditto, ditto, and annual presents	...	0	13 6
1	"	fees, uncooked food, weekly presents, and annual presents	...	1	1 9
1	"	wages, subsistence-money, weekly presents, and annual presents	...	1	5 0
4 receive	"	fees, ditto, ditto, ditto	...	7	10 3
3	"	fees, uncooked food, subsistence-money, weekly presents, and annual presents	...	4	13 6

Thus 80 teachers receive in all rupees 123-4-3, which averages to each teacher rupees 1-8-7 per month.

Among the 80 teachers there are only two that have school-houses, and those are miserable huts,—one built at a cost of five, and the other at a cost of three, rupees. The others accommodate their scholars in verandahs, shops, out-houses, baithak-khanas, &c.

In 80 schools the total number of scholars is 507, giving to each school an average of 6·3. The average age of the scholars at the time that the schools were visited was 9·2 years; their average age at the time when they entered school was 5·03 years, and their average age at the time when they would probably leave school was 13·1 year. The average period passed at school would thus appear to be about eight years.

Of the scholars, five are Musalmans and 502 are Hindus, all of whom were present when the schools were visited. The following are the castes of the Hindu scholars and the number of each:—

Sunri	...	72	Mahla	...	6
Rajput	...	62	Kairi	...	5
Kayastha	...	51	Dhanuk	...	5
Kalal	...	40	Pashi	...	5
Gandhabanik	...	32	Tamli	...	4
Teli	...	29	Napit	...	4
Mayra	...	28	Kamar	...	4
Brahman	...	25	Kansari	...	4
Swarnakar	...	25	Kaivarta	...	2
Māgadha	...	18	Chhaipikar	...	2
Kandu	...	18	Parasua	...	2
Aguri	...	17	Kahar	...	2
Kurmi	...	11	Lahari	...	2
Luniar	...	9	Sutar	...	2
Gōāla	...	3	Khatki	...	1
Kshatriya	...	7			

Of all the districts I have visited vernacular instruction is here at the lowest ebb, denoted both by the small number of schools, and

the small proportion of scholars. As in the preceding district, the number of scholars of the writer-caste is less than even the number of teachers of that caste; and there are not fewer than seven castes, each yielding a greater number of scholars than the brahman caste, to which they are inferior in social estimation. It will be seen from the list that the very low castes—as the *Luniar*, *Mahla*, *Kairi*, *Dhanuk*, *Pashi*, &c.—have here also begun to seek the advantages of instruction in the common schools.

The following is the distribution of the scholars into the four established grades of instruction :—

(a) Scholars who write on the ground	...	250
(b) " " on the wooden-board	...	172
(c) " " on the brazen-plate	...	55
(d) " " on paper	...	30

In three schools commercial accounts only, in four agricultural accounts only, and in fifty-eight both accounts are taught. In one school commercial accounts and vernacular works, in four agricultural accounts and vernacular works, and in ten both accounts and vernacular works are taught.

The vernacular works read are *Dan Lila*, *Gita Govinda*, and *Ram Jamna* formerly described; and *Surya Purana*, a translated extract from the Purana of that name. *Sundar Sudama* is another native work which was stated to be occasionally read in the common schools, but I did not meet with it, nor could I ascertain whether it was the same with *Sudam Charitra* formerly mentioned. Those productions are written in the Hindi language and Nagari character; but in the northern and eastern parts of the district the Trihutiya is prevalent, which, as a character, is nearly identical with the Bengali, and as a language differs from the Hindi and Bengali chiefly in its inflections and terminations.

## SECTION VI.

### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE STATE OF VERNACULAR INSTRUCTION.

It may be useful to bring under one view the principal conclusions deducible from the preceding details which include all the information I have collected respecting the state of education in the common schools of the country.

*First.*—The languages employed in the communication of vernacular instruction are, of course, chiefly Bengali in the Bengal, and Hindi in the Behar, districts. In Burdwan Bengali, and in South Behar Hindi, are exclusively used; but in Midnapore Ooriya is largely employed as well as Bengali; in the city of Moosshedabad and in the district of Beerbhoom Hindi is used to a very limited extent in addition to Bengali; and in some parts of Tirhoot, Trihutiya in addition to Hindi prevails as the language of

conversation, of verbal instruction, and of correspondence, but it is never employed as the language of literary composition.

*Second.*—*Vernacular instruction prevails* to a greater extent in the Bengal than in the Behar districts visited. Comparing the two districts of each province that have been most thoroughly investigated, South Behar and Tirhoot are found to contain 365 common schools, and Beerbhoom and Burdwan 1,041. In the latter the proportion of scholars in each school is also greater. In Tirhoot the proportion is 6·3 to each school, in South Behar 10·8, in Beerbhoom 15·4, and in Burdwan 20·9.

*Third.*—Both in Bengal and Behar the *business of teaching common schools is chiefly in the hands of the Kayastha or writer-caste*. In the Bengal districts this hereditary privilege has been largely invaded by other castes both superior and inferior to the Kayastha, but still so as to leave the latter a decided majority in the class of vernacular teachers. In the Behar districts this privilege is enjoyed in nearly its pristine completeness. The following is a comparison of the number of Kayastha teachers with those of other castes:—

			Total teachers.	Writer-caste.	Other castes.
Moorshedabad	..		67	39	28
Beerbhoom	..		412	256	156
Burdwan	..		639	369	270
South Behar	..		285	278	7
Tirhoot	..		80	77	3

This is not an idle fact. It is one of the tests that may be applied to judge of the comparative integrity of native institutions and of the comparative condition of the people in different districts. Both the Bengal and Behar districts need an improved system of vernacular instruction; but the former appear to have undergone a social change, partaking of the nature of a moral and intellectual discipline, which removes prejudices still to be met, and provides facilities not yet to be found in the latter.

*Fourth.*—The reality of this social change in the one class of districts, and its absence in the other, become further apparent by a consideration of the castes by which vernacular instruction is chiefly

sought. Hindu society on a large scale may be divided into three grades:—*First*, Brahmans who are prohibited by the laws of religion from engaging in worldly employments for which vernacular instruction is deemed the fit and indispensable preparation; *second*, those castes who, though inferior to Brahmans, are deemed worthy of association with them, or to whom the worldly employments requiring vernacular instruction are expressly assigned; and *third*, those castes who are so inferior as to be deemed unworthy both of association with Brahmans, and of those worldly employments for which vernacular instruction is the preparation. This would exclude the first and third grades from the benefits of such instruction, and in the Behar districts few of them do partake of it, while in the Bengal districts the proportion of both is considerable.

*Fifth*.—As another point of comparison, it is worthy of note that in each of the Bengal districts a greater or less number of the teachers bestow their instructions gratuitously, and even teachers who are paid instruct many scholars who pay nothing; while in the Behar districts I did not discover any instance in which instruction was given without compensation. The greater poverty of the people in Behar than in Bengal may, in part, explain this fact; but the principal reason probably is that the same religious merit and social consideration are not attached to learning, its possession and diffusion, in the former as in the latter province.

*Sixth*.—In the preceding details an attempt has been made to describe the various modes in which the teachers of common schools are remunerated, and to ascertain the mean rate payment in each district, reducing all the items to a monthly estimate. The mean rate is —

		Rs.	As.	P.
In the city and district of Moorshedabad	...	4	12	9
In the district of Beerbhoom	...	3	3	9
“ “ of Burdwan	...	3	4	3
“ “ of South Behar	...	2	0	10
“ “ of Tirhoot	...	1	8	7

The returns on this subject are to be taken with some explanations. It is possible that some sources of regular profit to teachers, in themselves insignificant, but to them not unimportant, may have been overlooked; and occasional profits, such as presents from old scholars, are too fluctuating and uncertain to be known or estimated. Teachers, moreover, often add other occupations to that of giving instruction; and when a teacher does not have recourse to any other employment, his income from teaching is most frequently valued chiefly as his contribution to the means of subsistence possessed by the family to which he belongs, since by itself it would be insufficient for his support. When a teacher is wholly dependent upon his own resources, and those are limited to his income in that capacity, the rate of payment is invariably higher.

*Seventh.*—The mutual disposition of Hindus and Musalmans towards each other is not an unimportant element of society in this country, and it may be partly estimated by the state of vernacular instruction. In the Beerbhoom and Burdwan districts there are thirteen Musalman teachers of Bengali schools; in the South Behar and Tirhoot districts there is only one Musalman teacher of a Hindi school, and that one is found in South Behar. In the Beerbhoom and Burdwan districts there are 1,001 Musalman scholars in Bengali schools; and in the South Behar and Tirhoot districts 177 Musalman scholars in Hindi schools, of whom five only are found in Tirhoot. The Musalman teachers have Hindu as well as Musalman scholars; and the Hindu and Musalman scholars and the different castes of the former assemble in the same school-house, receive the same instructions from the same teacher, and join in the same plays and pastimes. The exception to this is found in Tirhoot, where there is not one Musalman teacher of a Hindi school and only five Musalman scholars in the schools of that class. As far as I could observe or learn, the feeling between those two divisions of the population is less amicable in this district than in any of the others I have visited.

*Eighth.*—The distribution of vernacular instruction amongst the different classes of native society, considered as commercial, as agricultural, or as belonging determinately to neither, may be approximately estimated by a reference to some of the preceding details. Commercial accounts only are chiefly acquired by the class of money-lenders and retail-traders, agricultural accounts only by the children of those families whose subsistence is exclusively drawn from the land, and both accounts by those who have no fixed prospects and who expect to gain their livelihood as writers, accountants, &c. The following table shows the number of schools in which each sort of accounts is taught separately, or both together:—

		Commercial accounts* only	Agricultural accounts only.	Commercial and agricul- tural accounts.
Moorshedabad	..	7	14	46
Beerbhoom	..	36	47	328
Burdwan	..	2	5	609
South Behar	..	36	20	229
Tirhoot	..	4	8	68

This statement tends to show that vernacular instruction is chiefly sought by the class neither strictly commercial nor strictly agricultural, but it must be considered only an approximation to the truth, for it is evident that scholars who wish to acquire commercial accounts only, or agricultural accounts only, may attend a school in which both accounts are taught. Still if the demand for both accounts was not general, schools in which both are taught would not be so numerous.

• *Ninth.*—Exclusive of native accounts taught in native schools, and Christian instruction communicated in Missionary schools, we have here some means of judging of the extent to which written works are employed in the former and of the nature of those works. The following table exhibits the number of schools in which native written works are, and the number in which they are not, employed :—

		Native schools in which written works are employed.	Native schools in which written works are not employed.
Mooishedabad	..	39	28
Beerbhoom	...	13	398
Burdwan	...	426	190
South Behar	...	2	283
Tirhoot	...	11	69

With regard to the nature of these works, the employment of the *Amara Kosha*, the *Ashta Sabdi*, *Ashu Dhatu*, *Subda Subanta*, and the verses of *Chanakya* as school-books in some of the vernacular schools of the Bengal districts indicates a higher grade of instruction than I had previously believed to exist in those schools. With the exception of the verses of Chanakya, the other works mentioned are grammatical, and their use is said to have been at one time general, which would imply that they are the remains of a former superior system of popular instruction preparatory, in the case of those who could follow it up, to the more enlarged course of learned study. The remaining works used in the common schools rank low as compositions, and consist, for the most part, of the praises and exploits of the gods recognized by the established religion of the country.

Most of the topics noticed under this section would admit of extended illustration, but I have preferred merely suggesting them to the reflection of the readers of this report.



## SECTION VII.

## SANSKRIT SCHOOLS.

The next class of schools is that in which the literature, law, philosophy, and religion of the Hindus are taught through the medium of the Sanscrit language, and with reference to the number of seminaries and students, the nature of the influence which learned Hindus possess, and the amount of the population over whom it is exercised, this can be considered inferior in importance only to the class of vernacular schools from which the great body of the people derive the chief part of the instruction they receive.

*City and District of Moorsheadabad.*

In twenty thanas of this city and district there are 24 Sanscrit schools with the same number of teachers, whose average age is 46·2 years. All the teachers are Brahmans, 13 being Varcndra, 8 Rarhi, and 3 Vaidika Brahmans.

The various sources of income to vernacular teachers, as far as they could be ascertained, were reduced to a monthly rate; but the receipts of learned teachers, although generally larger in amount, are obtained at such uncertain intervals that they found it more convenient to give me an annual estimate. The average of the annual receipts of 24 teachers is 123 rupees, derived principally from the presents received on the occasion of ceremonial invitations, and occasionally from other sources. One teacher receives a pension from Government of five rupees per annum, paid quarterly. I could not ascertain the origin of this payment. Another teacher has a pension of 60 rupees per annum originally bestowed by Rani Bhawani and paid through the Government. The first order of Government on the subject is dated 12th November 1799; on the 17th July 1822 the Collector reported the institution to be well attended and the pensioner qualified, and on the 10th September of the same year the Board of Revenue authorized the present incumbent to receive the allowance in succession to his father. As far as I could ascertain, the sole object of the endowment is the encouragement of learning without any reference either to religious worship, or hospitality to strangers. A third teacher holds an endowment of ten bighas of land, yielding about one rupee per bigha per annum: it is the remnant of 100 bighas originally granted by Rajah Rama Kanta to his grandfather and subsequently divided and sub-divided amongst descendants who do not belong to the profession of learning, from which it would appear that the object of the endowment has been, in a great measure, defeated. It was stated to me that the original *sanad* for 100 bighas was lost,

but that a certificate of the validity of the endowment given by Mr. Hely, the Collector, of 1801, is in existence.

Connected with the present means of subsistence enjoyed by learned teachers is a consideration of the amount of encouragement formerly given to the same class. One teacher stated that at one time he received five rupees a month from one, and four rupees a month from another, neighbouring zemindar,—both of whom had discontinued these payments for the last three years on the plea of diminished means. The pandit did not appear to doubt that the cause assigned was the real one. In another case it was stated that about ten or twelve years ago an endowment of 60 rupees a year, established by Rani Bhawani and paid through the Government, was discontinued. It was paid first to Jayarama Nyaya Panchanana, and afterwards to his nephew Chandreshwar Nyaya-lankara, on whose death it was withheld, as he left no heir. Those who mentioned this endowment considered that it was exclusively designed for the encouragement of learning, and that it was intended to be of permanent obligation. A similar opinion was not expressed respecting numerous other endowments stated to have been resumed about 20 or 25 years ago, and amounting to 8,000 or 10,000 rupees per annum. They were grants of the Rani Bhawani, and were enjoyed by upwards of thirty individuals, but it was distinctly admitted that they had been given only for life, and that the resumption was proper. The object of these endowments was stated to be the encouragement of learning, which was very carefully distinguished from the object of certain other endowments established by the same Rani and still enjoyed to the extent of 30,000 rupees by upwards of sixty persons, Brahmans, Vaishnavas, female devotees, Musalman faqirs, and reduced zemindars. The information I obtained respecting those resumed endowments was not of that determinate character which it would have been satisfactory to me to report, and I endeavoured to procure more precise details in the Collector's Office but without success. I shall not be surprised if the statements made to me should be found erroneous, and I have the satisfaction of knowing that means have been taken to obtain, through the appropriate channel of resumption-officers, complete information respecting endowments for educational purposes whether resumed or unresumed, with the purpose of faithfully applying all that may be discovered to their legitimate objects.

Krishnanatha Nyaya Panchanana, the pandit already mentioned as enjoying an endowment of 60 rupees per annum paid through the Government, possesses a distinguished reputation amongst learned natives throughout Bengal. Several of his pupils are settled as teachers of learning at Nuddea; he is in official employment as the pandit attached to the Court of the Civil and Sessions Judge of Moorshedabad; and both his learning and office

as well as his wealth, which amounts, however, only to a moderate competence, give him high consideration in native society. The only species of literary composition he appears to have attempted is that description of propositions which it is usual for the professors of logical philosophy to discuss at the meetings of the learned. None of the other pandits are authors.

Almost every pandit has a separate school-house either built at his own expense, or at the cost of a former or present benefactor. The amount varies from 25 rupees to 400, and, of course, the extent of the accommodation varies with the outlay.

In 24 Sanscrit schools there are 153 students, averaging 6·3 to each school. Of the total number of students, 106 were present and 47 absent at the time the schools were visited; 41 are natives of the villages in which the schools are situated and 112 natives of other villages, and one is of the Kayastha or writer-caste, and 152 are Brahmans.

The following are the different studies pursued in these schools and the number of students engaged in each at the time the schools were visited:—

Grammar	...	23	Law	...	64
Lexicology	...	4	Logic	...	52
Literature	...	2	Mythology	...	8

The age of each student was recorded with reference to three distinct periods, viz., the age at which he commenced the study he was then pursuing, his present age, and the probable age at which he would complete the study of the branch of learning on which he was then engaged. It will be noted that two of these periods are certain, and that one is prospective and conjectural. The following is the average age, at each period, of the students belonging to each branch of learning:—

Grammar	...	11·9	...	15·2	...	18·8
Lexicology	...	18·	...	19·2	...	20·2
Literature	...	16·	...	25·	...	26·5
Law	...	23·6	...	28·7	...	33·2
Logic	...	21·	...	26·5	...	34·6
Mythology	...	29·1	...	31·1	...	33·6

Grammar, lexicology, and literature, which includes poetical and dramatic productions, although begun in succession are generally studied simultaneously, and the same remark is, in some measure, applicable to law and logic. Taking, however, each branch of learning separately, it would appear that the study of grammar occupies about seven years, lexicology about two, literature about ten, law about ten, logic about thirteen, and mythology about four.

In describing the works employed as text-books in each branch of learning, all that can be attempted in this place is to give the

names of the principal books. In grammar, the *Mugdhabodha* with the Ramtarkavagisi commentary and the *Kalapa* with the commentary of Trilochana Dasa are chiefly used. In lexicology, the *Amara Kosha* is the only work employed. In general literature, the *Hitopadesa* and *Bhatti Kavya* are read. In law, the following *Tatwas* or treatises of Raghunandana, viz., *Tithi*, *Prayaschitta*, *Udbaha*, *Suddhi*, *Sraddha*, *Ahnika*, *Ekadasi*, *Malamasa*, *Samaya-suddhi*, and *Iyotisha*, are first studied; and these are followed by the *Dayabhaga* and *Prayaschitta Viveka*. In logic, the works in use are the Mathuri commentary of *Vyapti Panchaka*; the Jagadisi commentary of *Purva Paksha*, *Savyabhichara*, and *Kevalanwaya*; and the Gadadhari commentary of *Avayava* and *Satpratipaksha*, all, of course, including their respective texts: the *Saddasaktiprakasika* by Gadadhar is also read. In mythology, the *Bhagavata Purana*, and the *Bhagavad Gita*, a book of the Mahabharata, are read.

Students as well as teachers sometimes receive presents on public occasions, and in certain seasons of the year the more indigent travel about as religious mendicants, the small sums thus obtained being employed to defray those expenses which their relations or teachers do not enable them to meet. Of the 24 Sanscrit schools the students of 10 receive nothing in either of the ways above mentioned, and the students of 14 receive various sums the annual average of which is rupees 7-13. This is the annual average, not to each student, but to all the students of each school taken collectively; and with reference to the average number of students in each school, it gives little more than a rupee annually to each student.

#### *District of Beerbhoom.*

This district contains 56 Sanscrit schools, of which one village contains five and another three, four villages contain two each, and forty villages contain one each.

The number of teachers is 58, of whom 53 are Rarhi and four are Varendra Brahmans, and one is of the Vaidya or medical caste. The number of teachers is greater by two than the number of schools, one school being taught by a father and son and another by an uncle and nephew. The average age of the teachers is 45.6 years.

Two of the teachers receive no invitations or presents, but like most of the rest give their instructions gratuitously to the students. The others derive their support from the following sources:—

	Rs.	As.	P.
50 teachers estimate that they receive annually at assemblies to which they are invited ..	2,528	0	0
1 teacher receives, in the form of presents and annual salary ..	150	0	0
1 receives, in the form of annual salary ..	60	0	0
1 " " of fees and perquisites ..	43	8	0
1 " " of presents, salary, and fees ..	108	0	0

Thus 54 teachers receive in all rupees 2,889-8, which averages to each teacher rupees 53-8-1 per annum. One of those who receive nothing supports himself and contributes to the support of his pupils by farming. One of those who accept invitations and presents adds to his income by the ceremonial recitation of the Puranas, another has the proceeds of a temple assigned to him by the officiating Brahman, and a third refuses to accept invitations and presents from all of the Sudra caste. One teacher, now dependent on occasional presents, formerly had an annual allowance of rupees 100 from the Rani Bhawani which has been discontinued since her death; and in another case the inhabitants of the village subscribed to give the father of the present teacher an endowment of sixty bighas of land, for which they paid the zemindar rupees 24 a year; but since the death of the father, the zemindar has resumed the land although he still requires and receives the increased revenue from the villagers. The sole object of the endowment was the encouragement of learning. Three teachers are in the enjoyment of endowments of land consisting—two of 25 bighas each, and one of about 50 bighas. It is the medical teacher who receives rupees 108 mentioned above, which sum includes both presents and an annual allowance from his patron and also the proceeds of his general practice.

Among the learned teachers of this district, the following are the names of those who claim the distinction of being authors, and of the works they profess to have written :—

Jagaddurlabha Nyayalankara, dwelling at Nandur in the Sakalyapur thana, has written four works in Sanscrit,—*first*, *Uddhava Chamatkar*, containing 175 slokas, relating to an incident in the life of Krishna connected with his friend Uddhava; *second*, a commentary on the preceding; *third*, *Pratinataka*, a drama divided into seven parts, containing 532 slokas, on the history of Rama; and *fourth*, a commentary on the preceding.

Viseswar Siddhantavagis, dwelling at Tikuri in the Ketugram thana, has written a work in Sanscrit called *Duti Sambad*, containing 41 slokas, on the history of Krishna.

Viswambhar Vidyaratna, the medical teacher, dwelling at Sonarundi in the Ketugram thana, is now engaged in the composition of a work in Sanscrit in support and illustration of the doctrines of Susrusha Charaka, a medical text book; he purposes printing his own production.

Rukmini Kanta Vidyavagis, dwelling at Banwari Abad in the Ketugram thana, professes to have written the following works :—*First*, a commentary called *Vichar Tarangini*, containing 400 pages in prose, on Alankara Kaustubha,—a work on rhetoric; *second*, *Rasa Turangini*, containing 80 pages in verse; on the amours

of Krishna; and third, *Banamoli Charitra Chandrica*, a drama of about 100 pages in mixed verse and prose, chiefly in Sanscrit, but intermixed with the Pracrita, Magadhi, Sauraseni, Maharashtri, Paisachi, and Apabhramsa dialects according to the characters of the person introduced.

Good school-houses are not common in this district, particularly towards the north and west. The teachers very frequently accommodate their pupils in *baithak-khanas* and *chandi mandaps*. One school-house built by a patron cost Rupees 200, and another built by the teacher cost Rupees five. There are others of an intermediate character, but generally built by the teachers.

In 56 Sanscrit schools there are 393 students, averaging 7.01 to each school; of the students, one is a *Daivajna*, a degraded class of Brahmans; three are *Vaishnavas*, or followers of Vishnu; nine are *Vaidyas*, or of the medical caste; and the rest are regular *Brahmans*. The natives of the villages in which the schools are situated amount to 254, and those of other villages to 139, and the average age of 371 students was 20.7 years. The following is an enumeration of the studies pursued, and the number of students attending to each:—

Grammar	...	...	274	Logic	...	...	27
Lexicology	...	...	2	Vedanta	...	...	3
Literature	...	...	8	Medicine	...	...	1
Rhetoric	...	...	9	Mythology	...	...	8
Law	...	...	24	Astrology	...	...	5

It will be observed that while the number of students of the medical caste is nine, there is only one actually engaged in the study of medical works. The reason is that, before commencing the study of medical works, it is deemed requisite to pass through a course of grammar and general literature, and in this preliminary course the remaining eight students were engaged when the school in question was visited.

In grammar, the works used as text-books are *Panini* with the Kaumudi commentary, *Sankshipta Sar* with the Goyichandri commentary, and the *Mugdhabodha*; in lexicology, the *Amara Kosha*; in literature, the *Bhatti Kavya*, *Raghuvansa*, *Naishadha*, and *Sakuntala*; in rhetoric, the *Kavya Prakasa*, *Kavya Chandrica*, and *Sahitya Darpana*; in law, the *Tithi*, *Ahnika*, and *Prayaschitta Tatwas* of Raghunandana, and the *Daya Bhaga*; in logic, the Jagadisi commentary of *Siddhanta Lakshana* and *Vyaddhikaranadharmavachinnabhava*, and the Mathuri commentary of the *Vyapti Panchaka*; in the Vedanta or theology of the Veds, the *Vedanta Sutra*; in medicine, *Nidana*; in mythology, the *Bhagavata Purana*; and in astrology, the *Samaya Pradipa* and *Dipika*.

The students of 21 schools receive nothing in the form of presents, or by mendicancy. Those of 35 schools receive

rupees 252-12, averaging about rupees 7-3-6 annually to the students collectively of each school.

*District of Burdwan.*

This district contains 190 Sanscrit schools, of which two villages contain six each, one village contains five, three villages contain four each, seven villages contain three each, twenty-seven villages contain two each, and eighty-six villages contain one each.

The number of learned teachers is the same as the number of schools, and their average age is 45·2 years. One hundred and eighty are Rarhi, four Varendra, and two Vaidika Brahmans, and four are of the Vaidya or medical caste.

The following are the annual receipts, estimated by themselves, of the whole body of teachers :—

	Rupees.
185 receive in the form of presents at assemblies	10,928
1 receives in presents and monthly allowance	376
2 receive by medical practice ... ..	500
1 receives by medical practice and in the form of monthly allowance ... ..	156
1, a medical professor, practises as well as teaches gratuitously.	

thus 189 professors of learning receive in all rupees 11,960, averaging to each per annum rupees 63-4-5. Of the two teachers who receive monthly allowances, one is a learned Brahman and the other a learned Vaidya, and the Rajah of Burdwan is the patron of both. There are only two teachers holding endowments of land, one amounting to eight and the other to ten bighas of land, the former yielding about eighteen, and the latter about fifteen, rupees a year.

Kalidasa Sarvabhauma, dwelling at Ambika in the Culna thana, has made a translation into easy Sanscrit and also into Bengali of those portions of Menu and Mitakshara which relate to criminal law, and also a translation into Bengali of that portion of the Mitakshara which treats of the law of usury. °

Gurucharana Panchanana, dwelling at Baguniya in the Ganguriya thana, is the author of a drama in Sanscrit, entitled *Srikrishna Lilambudhi*, containing 50 leaves or 100 pages, in mixed prose and verse, on the amours of Krishna.

Iswarachandra Nyayaratna, dwelling at Bara Belun in the Balkrishna thana, has written three works in Sanscrit, viz., *Gaura Chandramrita* on the incarnation of Chatanya; *Manoduta*, legendary; and *Mukti Dipika*, a comparative view of the means of obtaining final absorption according to the six schools of philosophy. These three works contain about 1,200 Slokas. He is

also engaged on a commentary illustrative of the Nyaya doctrine.

Krishnamohana Vidyabhushana, dwelling at Mahtab in the Balkrishna thana, claims to have written a commentary on *Alan-kara Kaustubha*, a work on rhetoric, containing 300 leaves or 600 pages; and *Bayu Duta*, a work of general literature in verse, containing 10 or 12 leaves.

The most voluminous native author I have met with is Raghunandana Goswami, dwelling at Maro in the Potna thana. The following is an enumeration of his works :—

1. A commentary on the *Chandomanjari*, a treatise on prosody, so framed as to express the praises of Krishna.
2. A commentary on *Santi Sataka*, a work on abstraction from the world.
3. *Sada-chara Nirnaya* a compilation from the laws on the Vaishnava ritual, containing 140 leaves or 280 pages in prose and verse; a copy is in my possession.
4. *Dhatu Dipa*, a metrical explanation of Sanscrit roots in the order of the ten conjugations, containing 500 slokas.
5. *Aunadika Kosha*, a metrical dictionary of words comprising the Unadi postfixes in two parts, of which one contains words having more meanings than one, and the other words of only one meaning, 300 slokas.
6. *Rogarnava Tarini*, a compilation from various medical works on the treatment of disease, containing 174 leaves or 348 pages, part being in verse, extending to 6,900 slokas.
7. *Arishta Nirupana*, a description of the various signs or symptoms of approaching death, a compilation in verse of 400 slokas, contained in 14 leaves or 28 pages.
8. *Sarira Vivritti*, a treatise on the progress of gestation and on the seats in the human body of the various humours, &c., in prose and verse, comprised in 22 leaves or 44 pages.
9. *Lekha Darpana*, on letter writing, principally in prose, 15 leaves or 30 pages.
10. *Dwaita Siddhanta Dipika*, a defence of the distinction between the human and divine spirits in opposition to pantheism, contained in 71 leaves or 142 pages.
11. *Harikarastotra*, the praises of Vishnu and Siva, in nine slokas, so composed that every sloka has two senses,—of which one is applicable to Vishnu and the other to Siva; a copy is in my possession.



12. *Siva Sarmadastotra*, 8 slokas, containing a double sense, one expressing the praises of Siva and the other some different meaning.
13. A commentary on the preceding.
14. *Yamakavinoda*, 8 slokas, containing the praises of Krishna, written in a species of alliteration by a repetition of the same sounds; a copy is in my possession.
15. A commentary on the preceding; a copy is in my possession.
16. *Bhavanuprasa*, eight slokas, containing the praises of Krishna, in a species of alliteration.
17. *Antastapika*, four slokas, in question and answer so framed that the answer to one question contains the answers to all the questions in the same sloka.
18. *Radha Krishnastotra*, eight slokas, containing the praises of Radha and Krishna, and so framed that they may be read either backward or forward.
19. A commentary on the above, consisting of 2 leaves or 4 pages.
20. A specimen of *Alata Chakra Bandha*, two slokas, so framed that each sloka contains materials for 64 slokas by the transposition of each letter in succession from the beginning to the end,—first the thirty-two syllables from left to right, and afterwards the thirty-two from right to left.
21. *Sansaya Satani*, a commentary on the Bhagavata Purana, now in progress of composition.
22. A commentary on Yama Shatpadi, which contains the praises of Narayana by Yama.
23. *Stavakadamba*, 76 slokas, containing the praises of Saraswati, Ganga, Yamuna, Nityananda, Chaitanya, Vrindayana, Krishna, and Radhika.
24. *Govindarupamriti*, 41 slokas, containing a description of the qualities of Krishna.
25. *Krishna Keli Suddhaka*, 400 slokas, on the loves of Radha and Krishna, principally occupied with the period extending from the jealousy of Radha to her reconciliation with Krishna.
25. Commentary on the above, of 37 leaves or 74 pages.

26. *Govinda Mahodaya*, 800 slokas, containing the history of Radha's eight female friends or attendants.
27. *Govinda Charitra*, 350 slokas, containing the lamentation of Radha on account of her separation from Krishna.
28. *Bhakta Mala*, 5,000 slokas, explanatory of the different forms in which Krishna has been propitious to his votaries, translated from Marwari into Sanscrit.
29. *Durjnana Mihira Kalanala*, a defence of the doctrine of the Vaishnavas.
30. *Bhakta Lilamrita*, a compilation from the eighteen Puranas of every thing relating to Krishna.
31. *Parakiya Mata, Khandana*, an attempt to establish that the milkwomen of Vrindavana with whom Krishna disported were his own wives, and not those of the milkmen of that place.
32. A commentary on Kavi Chandra's praise of Hara and Gauri (Siva and Parvati), consisting of 10 leaves or 20 pages.
33. *Desika Nirnaya*, a compilation on the qualifications of a spiritual guide and on the tests by which one should be selected; a copy is in my possession.
34. A commentary on *Srutyaadhyaaya*, one of the books of the *Bhagavata Purana* on the history of Radha and Krishna, consisting of 22 leaves or 44 pages.
35. *Krishnavilasa*, 109 slokas, on the amours of Krishna. The preceding works are written in Sanscrit; the following chiefly in Bengalee, viz.,
36. *Rama Rasayana*, the history of Rama, written on 889 leaves or 1,778 pages, containing 30,000 slokas.
37. *Patra Prakasa*, 8 leaves or 16 pages, on letter writing, the example in Sanscrit and the explanation in Bengalee.

Ram Comala Kavibhushana, of the medical caste, dwelling at Burdwan in the Burdwan thana, has written *Nayananda Nataka*, a drama of about 800 slokas, illustrative of the life and actions of the late Rajah of Burdwan; and *Vadārthadarsa*, a treatise on grammar, contained in about 50 leaves or 100 pages.

Radha Kantā Vachaspati, dwelling at Chanak in the Mangalkot thana, has written the following works, viz.:—*Nikunjavilasa*, a drama consisting of 60 leaves or 120 pages, illustrative of the

loves of Radha and Krishna, and written in Sanscrit, Pracrit, Paisachi, Apabhramsa, Maharashtri, Magadhi, and Sauraseni; *Surya Panchasata*, a poem in praise of the sun, consisting of 80 leaves or 60 pages; and *Durga Sataka*, containing the praises of Durga in a hundred slokas.

The majority of the teachers have school-houses either built at their own charge, or at the expensé of patrons and friends, or by the subscriptions of the most respectable inhabitants of the village where the school is situated. In those instances in which there is no regular school-house, the *bithak-khana* or *chandiman-dap* of the paṇḍit, or of some wealthy friend, answers the purpose.

In 190 Sanscrit schools there are 1,358 students, averaging 7.1 to each school. Of the total number 590 are natives of the villages in which the schools are situated, and 768 natives of other villages. They are thus distributed in respect of caste:—

Brahmans	...	1,296	Daivajnas	...	11
Vaidyas	...	45	Vaishnavas	...	6

The students of 105 schools receive nothing in the form of presents or by mendicancy. Those of 85 schools receive rupees 391, averaging rupees 4-9-7 annually to the students collectively of each school. The following is an enumeration of the studies pursued and the number of students engaged in each:—

Grammar	...	644	Vedānta	...	3
Lexicology	...	31	Medicine	...	15
Literature	...	90	Mythology	...	43
Rhetoric	...	8	Astrology	...	7
Law	...	238	Tantras	...	2
Logic	...	277			

The following is the average age of the students belonging to each branch of learning at each of the periods formerly mentioned:—

Grammar	...	11.4	...	16.2	...	20.7
Lexicology	...	15.7	...	16.4	...	17.8
Literature	...	18.6	...	21.4	...	24.9
Rhetoric	...	23.6	...	23.8	...	27.1
Law	...	23.2	...	27.5	...	33.5
Logic	...	17.8	...	22.2	...	29.0
Vedānta	...	24.3	...	31.3	...	34.6
Medicine	...	16.2	...	20.5	...	24.2
Mythology	...	24.6	...	27.7	...	31.6
Astrology	...	23.4	...	26.7	...	30.5
Tantras	...	27.5	...	32.0	...	32.5

The following works are read:—In grammar, the *Daurgadasi* and *Ramtarkavagisi* commentaries of the Mugdhaboodha, and the *Harinamamrita* grammar by Mulajiva Goswami; in literature, the *Kumar Sambhava*, *Magha*, and *Padanka Duta*; in law, the *Siddhi*,

*Udvaha, Sraddha, Ekadasi, Malamasa, and Jyotisha Tatwas, and the Mitakshara; in logic, the Jagadisi commentary of Vyapti Panchaka, Sinha Vyaghra, Avachhedoktanirukti, Vyapti Grahopaya, Samanya Lakshana, Pakshata, Paramarsa, Kevalanwayi, and Samanya Nirukti, the Mathuri commentary of Tarka, the Gadadhari commentary of Anumiti and Satpratipaksha, the Jagadisi and Gadadhari commentaries of Visesa Vyapti, Avayava, Savyabhi-chara, and Hetwabhasa, and the Sabdasaktiprakasika, Saktibadha, Muktibada, Bauddha Dhikkara, Pramanyabada, Lilavati, and Kusumanjali; in the Vedanta, Sankarabhashya and Panchadasi; in medicine, Sarangadhara Sanhita, Charaka, Vyakhya Madhu Kosha, and Chakrapani; in mythology, Ramayana and Bhagavad Gita; in astrology, Jyotisha Sara; and in the Tantra, Tantra Sara.*

### *.District of South Behar.*

This district contains 27 Sanscrit schools, of which one village contains six, three villages contain two each, and fifteen villages contain one each. The number of teachers is the same as the number of schools, and their average age is 43.9 years. They are all Brahmans, seventeen Sakadwipi Brahmans, four Kanyakubja, four Maithila, one Sarajupariya, and one Sonadhya.

Of the whole body of teachers, seven give their instructions gratuitously without deriving any emoluments from patrons. Of these, one, in consequence of the resumption of a small endowment he had, has withheld the pecuniary aid he formerly gave to his pupils; and three rent each a small farm which they cultivate by hired labour. The rest appear to be dependent on the other members of their own families. Twenty teachers furnished the following estimates of the amount of their annual receipts:—

	Rs.
1 receives a monthly allowance from a patron' ...	120
2 receive by officiating as priests about ...	85
1 receives proceeds of an endowment ...	100
1 " monthly allowance and proceeds of endowment ..	104
1 " " and by public recitation ...	340
2 receive in presents of money and uncooked food ...	274
1 receives proceeds of an endowment and by officiating as a priest ..	76
1 receives as an initiating priest and by public recitations ..	10
1 " as a family priest and by public recitations ..	200
1 " a monthly allowance, village subscriptions, and proceeds of an endowment ..	49
1 receives a monthly allowance, proceeds of an endowment, and presents of uncooked food ..	642
1 receives in presents of money and uncooked food, and proceeds of an endowment ...	60
5 receive monthly allowances and presents of money, and, uncooked food ...	4,942
1 receives as an initiating priest, as an officiating family priest, as a reciter of the Puranas, and in the form of occasional presents ..	400

Thus 20 teachers receive in all about rupees 7,402, averaging to each rupees 370-1-7 per annum. The endowed lands in extent vary from five to a hundred and fifty bighas, and in value from one to four rupees per bigha.

As far as I could ascertain, there are only two teachers in this district who are known as authors. Chakrapani pandit, dwelling at *Tikari* in thana Sahibgunge, has composed the following works in Sanserit, viz:—1. *Durga Ratnamala*, a commentary on Saptā Sati, a sub-division of the Markandeya Purana, contained in 200 leaves or 400 pages. 2. *Durjnanamukhachapetika*, (a slap on the face to the ignorant,) a treatise on the law of inheritance, &c., opposed to the school of Raghunandana, written on 150 leaves or 300 pages. 3. *Sarada*, a commentary on Sabdendu Sekhara, itself a commentary on the Siddhanta Kaumudi, or Panini grammar, written on 200 leaves or 400 pages. 4. *Mani Prakasika*, a commentary on Kanstubha, itself a commentary on the 8th Chapter of Panini, written on 180 leaves or 360 pages. 5. *Sakti Khandika*, a logical treatise on the powers of words in the form of a commentary on Manjusha on the same subject, written on 70 leaves or 140 pages. Hara Lal Pandit, a resident of the same place, is the author of two works, viz:—1 *Sabda Prakasa*, a commentary on Sabdendu Sekhara, written on 500 leaves or 1,000 pages; and 2, *Paribhasha Tatwa Prakasa*, a commentary on Pari Bhashendu Sekhara, itself a commentary on the Siddhanta Kaumudi, written on 125 leaves or 250 pages.

About half of the pandits have school-houses built at their own cost, or that of their patrons; and the rest avail themselves of the accommodation afforded by a threshold, an out-house, or a temple.

In 27 Sanserit schools there are 437 students, averaging 16.1 to each school. They are all Brahmans, and of the whole number 154 are natives of the villages in which the schools are situated, and 283 are natives of other villages. The students do not acquire any portion of their subsistence by mendicancy. The majority of them are supported by family-funds, and others participate in the allowances of food granted by the patrons of the teachers. In one instance the allowance of uncooked articles of food made to the teachers expressly for the benefit of the students was estimated at rupees 1,104 per annum, in another at rupees 960, and in a third at Rupees 360; in the last mentioned case the number of students enjoying this aid being limited to fifteen. The whole of these have been included in the preceding estimate of the receipts of teachers. The following are the studies pursued, and the number of students engaged in each:—

Grammar	...	...	356	Rhetoric	...	...	2
Lexicology	...	...	8	Law	...	...	2
Literature	...	...	16	Logic	...	...	6

Vedanta	...	5	Mythology	...	22
Mimansa	...	2	Astrology	...	13
Sankhya	...	1	Tantras	...	2
Medicine	...	2			

The following is the average age of the students belonging to each branch of learning at each of the periods formerly mentioned :—

Grammar	...	11.5	...	17.3	...	24.4
Lexicology	...	15.5	...	19.6	...	23.8
Literature	...	16.6	...	18.0	...	23.4
Rhetoric	...	20.0	...	22.0	...	24.0
Law	...	18.5	...	21.0	...	26.5
Logic	...	22.1	...	24.1	...	28.5
Vedanta	...	13.2	...	13.8	...	16.6
Mimansa	...	22.5	...	24.5	...	28.5
Sankhya	...	21.0	...	23.0	...	28.0
Medicine	...	18.0	...	25.0	...	29.0
Mythology	...	19.6	...	21.9	...	26.8
Astrology	...	17.0	...	19.8	...	20.1
Tantras	...	26.5	...	27.5	...	33.0

The following works are read in the schools : In grammar *Ma-habhashya* by Patanjali, interpreting or correcting Katyayana's annotations on Panini's rules ; *Sabda Kaustubha* by Bhattaji Dikshita, consisting of scholia on Panini, left incomplete by the author ; *Siddhanta Kaumudi* by Bhattaji Dikshita, a grammar in which Panini's rules are used, but his arrangement changed ; *Manorama* by the same author, containing notes on his own work ; *Saddendu Sekhara* by Nagoji Bhatta, a commentary on the Siddhanta Kaumudi ; *Saddaratna* by Hari Diksita, a commentary on Bhattaji's notes on the Manorama ; *Chandrica* by Swayamprakasananda, interpreting the *Paribhashartha Sangraha*, a commentary on the maxims of interpretation from ancient grammarians cited in the *Varticas* and *Bhashya* as rules for interpreting Panini's aphorisms ; *Paribhashendu Sekhara* by Nagoji Bhatta, a brief exposition of the same maxims ; *Vaiyakaranabhushana* by Konda Bhatta, on syntax and the philosophy of grammatical structure ; *Vaiyakarana Siddhanta Manjusha* by Nagoji Bhatta, on the same subjects ; and *Saraswati Prakriya* by Anubhuti Swarupacharya, a grammar founded on seven hundred rules or aphorisms pretended to have been received by the author from the goddess Saraswati. In lexicology, the *Amara Kosha*. In literature *Raghuvansa*, *Magha*, *Purva Naishadha*, and *Bharaviya* or *Kirata Kavya*. In rhetoric, *Kavya Prakasa*. In law, *Mitakshara* and *Saroja Kalika*. In logic, *Siddhanta Muktavali*, the Gadadhari's commentary of *Vyapti Pan-chaka*, the Jagadisi commentary of *Vyaddhikaranadharmavachhinn-abhava*, and *Bhasha Parichheda*. In the Vedanta, *Vedanta Paribhasha*. In Mimansa, *Adhikarana Mala*. In Sankhya, *Sankhya Tatwa*

*Kaumudi*. In medicine, *Saragadara*. In mythology, *Harivansa*, and *Sapta Sati*, a chapter of the *Markandeya Purana*. In astrology, *Muhurta Chintamani*, *Muhurta*, *Haritanda*, *Muhurta Kalpadruma*, *Lilavati* and *Sigara-bodha*; and in the Tantra, *Sarada Tilaka*.

### District of Tirhoot.

This district contains fifty-six Sanscrit schools, of which one village contains five, four villages contain three each, six villages contain two each, and twenty-seven villages contain one each. The number of teachers is the same, and their average age is 47·3 years. They are all Brahmans, fifty Maithila Brahmans, three Sarajupariya, two Kanyakubja, and one Sakadwipi.

Of the body of teachers, six are independent of patronage, and are either supported from the resources of their own families, or support themselves by farming. The following are the sources of income of the remaining fifty teachers :—

	Rs.
30 teachers receive, in the form of presents ...	1,165
4    "    "    proceeds of endowments ...	535
3    "    "    as officiating priests ...	134
2    "    "    by divination ...	100
1 teacher receives annual allowance ...	4
5 teachers receive presents of money and proceeds of endowments ...	297
4    "    receive presents of money and by divination ...	250
1 teacher receives as officiating priest and by divination ...	30

Fifty teachers thus receive an estimated income of rupees 2,515, averaging to each rupees 50-4-9 per annum. The practice of divination is very common in this district, and it is a source of income to men of learning which has not come to my knowledge elsewhere.

None of the teachers have distinguished themselves by written compositions, and amongst the whole body only two are to be found having separate school-houses for the accommodation of their students, and those built at their own cost,—in one instance amounting to two, and in the other to ten, rupees. The rest assemble their pupils in the verandas of their own dwelling-houses.

In 56 Sanscrit schools there are 214 students, averaging 3·8 to each school. They are all Brahmans, 147 of them being natives of the villages in which the schools are situated, and 67 natives of other villages. The students of three schools receive in the form of occasional presents rupees 65, which averages to the students of each school collectively rupees 21-10-8 per annum.

The practice is for the teacher to give food only to foreign students if he can afford it, but it does not affect his repute if he cannot, and does not give them that assistance. The majority of the students derive their chief, many their sole, support from the resources of their own families.

The following are the studies pursued, and the number of students engaged in each :—

Grammar	... 127	Logic	... 16
Lexicology	... 3	Vedanta	... 2
Literature	... 4	Mythology	... 1
Law	... 8	Astrology	... 53

The following is the average age of the students belonging to each branch of learning at each of the periods formerly mentioned :—

Grammar	... 9.0	... 16.6	... 24.3
Lexicology	... 20.6	... 20.5	... 22.6
Literature	... 20.2	... 21.0	... 25.5
Law	... 21.8	... 25.2	... 31.2
Logic	... 17.5	... 26.2	... 35.5
Vedanta	... 15.0	... 15.0	... 21.0
Mythology	... 20.0	... 20.0	... 24.0
Astrology	... 12.3	... 18.4	... 26.2

The following works are read in the schools of this district :—

In grammar, *Sabda Kaustubha*, *Siddhanta Kaumudi*, *Manorama*, *Sabdendu Sekhara*, *Laghu Kaumudi*, *Chandrica*, *Siddhanta Manjusha*, and *Saraswati Prakria*. In lexicology, *Amara Kosha*. In literature, *Raghuvansa*, *Magha*, and *Kirata Kavya*. In law, *Sraddha Viveka*, *Vivaha Tatva*, *Daya Tatva*, *Ahnika Tatva*, and *Mitakshara*. In logic, the Jagadisi commentary of *Siddhanta Lakshana*, *Samanya Lakshana*, and *Hetwabhasha*, *Abachhedoktanirukti*, the Gadadhary commentary of *Vyapti Panchaka*, and *Pratyaksha Khanda*, *Pramanyabada*, and *Vyaddhikaranadhamavachhinnabhava*. In the Vedanta philosophy, the *Vedanta Sara*. In mythology, the *Bhagavata Purana*. In astrology, *Nilakanthia Tajaka*, *Laghu Tajaka*, *Vija Ghanta*, *Vija Ganita*, *Graha Laghava*, *Siddhanta Siromani*, *Sripati Paddhati*, *Sarva Sangraha*, *Surya Siddhanta*, *Rotna Sara*, *Brahma Siddhanta*, and *Bala Bodha*.

## SECTION VIII.

### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE STATE OF SANSKRIT INSTRUCTION.

The preceding section comprises the most important details respecting the state of Sanskrit learning in the districts visited, and a few general remarks may contribute to a clearer apprehension and estimate of them.



*First.*—There is not, as far as I have been able to observe and judge, any mutual connection or dependence between vernacular and Sanskrit schools. The former are not considered preparatory to the other, nor do the latter profess to complete the course of study which has been begun elsewhere. They are two separate classes of institutions, each existing for distinct classes of society,—the one for the trading and agricultural, and the other for the religious and learned, classes. They are so unconnected, that the instruction in Bengali and Hindi reading and writing, which is necessary at the commencement of a course of Sanskrit study, is seldom acquired in the vernacular schools, but generally under the domestic roof; and unless under peculiar circumstances, it is not extended to accounts, which are deemed the ultimate object of vernacular school instruction. It has been already shown that an unusually small number of vernacular schools is found in certain parts of the Beerbhoom district, which have no institutions of learning; and it now appears that in the Burdwan district, where vernacular schools comparatively abound, there also schools of learning are most numerous. On the other hand, in that division of the Tirhoot district which contains the greatest number of schools of Hindu learning there are no vernacular schools at all; and in the whole district the vernacular schools are fewer, while the proportion of schools of learning is greater than in any other district. It seems to follow that the prosperity or depression of learning in any locality does not imply the prosperous or depressed condition of vernacular instruction, and that the two systems of instruction are wholly unconnected with, and independent of, each other.

*Second.*—Sanskrit learning is, to certain extent, open to all classes of native society whom inclination, leisure, and the possession of adequate means may attract to its study, and beyond that limit it is confined to Brahmans. The inferior castes may study grammar and lexicology, poetical and dramatic literature, rhetoric, astrology, and medicine; but law, the writings of the six schools of philosophy, and the sacred mythological poems, are the peculiar inheritance of the Brahman caste. This is the distinction recognized in the legal and religious economy of Hinduism, but practically Brahmans monopolize not only a part, but nearly the whole, of Sanskrit learning. In the two Behar districts both teachers and students, without a single exception, belong to that caste; and the exceptions in the Bengal districts are comparatively few. Of the class of teachers in Moorsheadabad all are Brahmans; in Beerbhoom, of 56 teachers, one is of the medical caste; and in Burdwan, of 190, four are of the same caste. It thus appears that the only exceptions to the brahmenical monopoly of Sanskrit teaching are native physicians. In the class of students in Moorsheadabad, of 153 there is only one Kayastha; in Beerbhoom, of 393 students nine are of the Vaidya or medical caste, three

are Vaishnavas or followers of Chaitanya, and one is a Daivajna or out-caste Brahman—in all 18; and in Burdwan, of 1,358 students 45 are Vaidyas, 11 Daivajnas, and six are Vaishnavas—in all 62, the others in each case being Brahmans. Comparing Bengal and Behar, the former appears to have taken a step in advance of the latter in communicating to some of the inferior castes a portion of the learning which it possesses, but even in Bengal the progress in this direction is not so great as might have taken place without running counter to the opinions and habits of the people. Still it is an advance, and it has been made in Bengal where in the department of vernacular instruction also a corresponding advance has been made, and is making, by the very lowest castes; showing that, while there is no established connection between the two systems of instruction, the same general influences are contributing to the extension of both.

*Third.*—The teachers and students of Sanscrit schools constitute the cultivated intellect of the Hindu people, and they command that respect and exert that influence which cultivated intellect always enjoys, and which in the present instance they peculiarly enjoy from the ignorance that surrounds them, the general purity of their personal character, the hereditary sacredness of the class to which most of them belong, the sacredness of the learning that distinguishes them, and the sacredness of the functions they discharge as spiritual guides and family priests. The only drawback on the influence they possess is the general, not universal, poverty of their condition, increased by the frequent resumption of former endowments. They are, notwithstanding this a highly venerated and influential portion of native society, and although as a body their interests may be opposed to the spread of knowledge, yet their impoverished circumstances would make them ready instruments to carry into effect any plan that should not assail their religious faith or require from them a sacrifice of principle and character. The numbers of this important class of men in the district visited are here exhibited at one view:—

		Moorsheda- bad.	Beerbhoom.	Burdwan.	South Behar.	Tirhoot.
Teachers	...	24	56	190	27	56
Students	..	153	393	1,358	437	214

*Fourth.*—The most favorable would probably not be a high estimate of the practical utility of the different branches of Sanscrit learning cultivated in these schools, but neither is that learning to be wholly despised. So long as the language shall exist,

the literature it contains will constitute one of the most precious remains of antiquity connecting itself by links clearly perceptible, but not yet fully traced, with the history of almost every people of Western Asia and of Europe; and so long as the Hindus shall exist as a distinct people, they will derive some of their most inspiring associations and impulses from the great literary monuments which belong to their race, and which the progress of time will render more venerable, even when from the progress of improvement they may cease to be regarded as sacred. Viewed with reference to the present constitution and wants of native society, Sanskrit literature may be considered either as sacred, profane, or of a mixed character. The *Tantra* scriptures, prescribing the ritual observances of Hinduism, are exclusively religious. Law includes not only the prescriptions of religion, but the rules of inheritance, contract, &c., which are recognized by the British Government and are essential to the working of civil society. The six *Darshanas*, of which I have found four taught in the schools, viz., the *Nyaya*, *Vedanta*, *Mimansa*, and *Sankhya*, contain expositions not only of theological doctrine, and ritual observance, but systems of philosophy on logic, on spirit and matter, and on moral and legal obligation. The mythological poems, the *Mahabharata* and the *Bhagavat Purana*, which are generally read, contain a system of metaphysical philosophy, disquisitions on political morality, and probably remnants of true history mixed up with the fables of heroes and of gods. Astrology would be more correctly denominated arithmology, for it is the science of computation in the widest sense, and embraces not only divination and the casting of nativities by the situation and aspect of the stars, but also mathematical and astronomical science. The native medical writings may be worthy of much, but not of all, the contempt with which the native medical profession is regarded by Europeans at the present day, for to a calm observer the very supremacy of their authority, which is so absolute and undisputed as to have repressed all independent inquiry, observation, and experiment, would seem to imply no inconsiderable degree of merit in the works to which such an influence has been so long conceded. Finally, the works on grammar, general literature, and rhetorical composition, will be valued as long as the philosophy of language shall be studied, or the Sanskrit language itself employed as an instrument for the expression of thought and sentiment. These, and the collateral branches of learning constitute the national literature of the Hindus,—a literature which needs not to be created, but which may be improved by the transfusion into it of those discoveries in art, in science, and in philosophy, that distinguish Europe, and that will help to awaken the native mind from the sleep of centuries.

*Fifth.*—The native mind of the present day, although it is asleep, is not dead. It has a dreamy sort of existence in separating,

combining, and re-casting in various forms, the fables and speculations of past ages. The amount of authorship shown to exist in the different districts is a measure of the intellectual activity which, however now misdirected, might be employed for useful purposes. The same men who have wasted, and are still wasting, their learning and their powers in weaving complicated alliterations, re-compounding absurd and vicious fictions, and revolving in perpetual circles of metaphysical abstractions, never ending still beginning, have professed to me their readiness to engage in any sort of literary composition that would obtain the patronage of Government. It is true that they do not possess the knowledge which we desire should be communicated to their countrymen; but where the desire to bestow information exist on our part, and the desire to receive it on theirs, all intermediate obstacles will speedily disappear. Instead of regarding them as indocile, intractable, or bigoted in matters not connected with religion, I have often been surprised at the facility with which minds under the influence of habits of thought so different from my own have received and appreciated the ideas which I have suggested. Nor is it authors only who might be employed in promoting the cause of public instruction, it is probable that the whole body of the learned, both teachers and students, might be made to lend their willing aid towards the same object.

## SECTION IX.

### PERSIAN AND ARABIC SCHOOLS.

The class of institutions next in importance to vernacular and Sanscrit schools consists of those in which the Persian and Arabic languages and the learning they contain are taught. Persian and Arabic schools are so intimately connected that they are regarded here as one class.

#### *City and District of Moorshedabad.*

In 20 thanas of this district there are 17 Persian and 2 Arabic schools; but it is to be understood in this and in similar cases that Persian is taught in the Arabic schools also, and that sometimes an Arabic is distinguishable from a Persian school only by the circumstance that one or two of the pupils have begun the study of one of the earliest and easiest works on the grammar of the Arabic language.

One village contains two Persian schools, and the remaining seventeen, Persian and Arabic, are contained in the same number of villages, or mohallas.

There are nineteen teachers, all Musalmans, whose average age is 36.5 years.

The following are the modes and amount of the remuneration given to the teachers :—

	Rs.	As.	P.
6 teachers receive monthly wages ...	68	0	0
1 teacher receives fees and uncooked food ...	8	0	0
3 teachers receive fees and subsistence-money ...	14	0	0
1 teacher receives monthly wages and annual presents ...	8	0	8
1 " " monthly wages and annual allowance ...	7	2	8
3 teachers receive monthly wages and perquisites ...	38	0	0
2 " " fees, subsistence-money, and annual presents ...	21	2	8
1 teacher receives fees, subsistence-money, and uncooked food ...	5	0	8
1 " " fees, subsistence-money, and weekly and annual presents ...	4	3	2

Nineteen teachers thus receive in all rupees 168-11-10, which averages to each rupees 8-14-1 per month. There are no teachers who give all their instructions gratuitously, but in several of the schools there are some schools who are taught without making any payment to the teachers. Those teachers who receive monthly wages or fixed salaries are generally dependent on the head or heads of one family; and of such families five are Hindu, whose allowances to the teachers are considerably in excess of the above average. In one of the Arabic schools instruction is given gratuitously to all the scholars, and the teacher receives his remuneration from Munshi Sharaf Khan. The institution has existed long, and has descended to the care of the Munshi its chief patron.

Fifteen of the schools have no other accommodations as school-houses than are afforded by the baithak-khanas and garden-houses of the principal supporters. Of the remaining two, one, a Persian school, has a school-house built by a respectable Hindu inhabitant at a cost of 40 rupees; and the other, an Arabic school, has a school-house built by the Musalman patrons at a cost of about 400 rupees. The latter is a brick building, and is used also as a dwelling-house by the maulavi and some of the scholars.

In 19 schools there are 109 scholars, averaging 5.7 to each school. Of the total number 102 are engaged in the study of Persian, and 7 in that of Arabic. Of the Persian scholars 61 are Hindus and 41 Musalmans, and of the Arabic scholars one is a

Hindu of the brahman caste and six are Musalmans. The following are the castes of the Persian scholars who are Hindus and the number of each—

Brahman	... 27	Kaivarta	... 4	Napit	... .. 1
Kayastha	... 15	Aguri	... 4	Mali	... .. 1
Kurmi	... 6	Suvarnabanik	2	Sutar	... .. 1

The following are the average ages of the Persian and Arabic scholars at the three periods formerly mentioned, viz., the age of admission to school, the age at the time the schools were visited, and the estimated age of leaving school :—

Persian scholars	...	...	9·5	13·5	20·8
Arabic scholars	...	...	11·0	17·4	21·1

The following works comprise the course of Persian reading, viz., the *Pandnameh*, *Gulistan*, *Bostan*, *Payindeh Beg*, embracing forms of epistolary correspondence; *Insha-i-Matlub*, containing forms of correspondence and contract; *Joseph and Zuleikha*, the history of Joseph; *Asafi* consisting of odes; *Secandar Nameh*, poetical history of Alexander the Great; *Bahar-i-Danish*, tales; and *Allami*, consisting of the correspondence of Shah Akber, Abulfazl, &c., &c. About one-half of the Persian teachers limit their instructions to the *Bostan* and *Gulistan*, and the other works are more or less taught by the remaining number.

The only works read by the Arabic students are grammatical, viz., *Mizan*, *Tasrif*, and *Zubda* on the inflections, and *Sharh-i-Miat Amal* on the syntax of the Arabic language.

#### District of Beerbhoom.

This district contains 71 Persian and 2 Arabic schools; of which two villages contain four each, two contain three each, three contain two each, and fifty-three contain one each.

The number of teachers is the same as the number of schools. Of the teachers of the Persian schools, sixty-six are Musalmans and five Hindus; and of the latter three are Brahmans, one is a Kayastha, and one a Daivajna. The teachers of the Arabic schools are Musalmans. The average age of all the teachers is 36·3 years.

Six Persian teachers and one Arabic teacher instruct gratuitously. The following are the modes and rates of remuneration of the remaining number :—

		Rs.	As.	P.
1	Arabic teacher receives monthly wages	...	7	0 0
2	Persian teachers receive monthly wages	...	15	0 0
23	" " " fees	...	135	4 0
3	" " " monthly wages and perquisites	...	21	12 0
37	" " " fees and perquisites	...	232	4 6

Thus 66 paid teachers receive in all rupees 411-4-6, averaging to each rupees 6-6-1 per month. Of the unpaid teachers, one not only instructs gratuitously, but also gives his scholars food and occasionally clothes; three support themselves by farming, of whom two are in possession of lakhiraj land, and of these one is a retired darogha, a fifth gains his livelihood as a mulla, a sixth instructs gratuitously from religious motives, and the object of the seventh was to keep in recollection his former acquirements. Of the paid teachers, a few only are dependent upon individual patrons, and those patrons are both Hindus and Musalmans; several of the scholars of these salaried teachers receive gratuitous instruction.

There are in all ten school-houses, of which one was built at the expense of the teacher, two by the subscriptions of the parents, and seven by private individuals, either from general motives of benevolence, or with a view to the advantage of their own children. One teacher instructs his scholars from house to house, and the remainder find accommodation for their scholars in kachharis, mosques, and especially baithak-khanas.

In 73 schools there are 490 scholars, averaging 6·7 to each school. The number of Persian students is 485 and of Arabic 5. Of the Persian students 240 are Musalmans and 245 Hindus, and the Arabic students are all Musalmans. The average age of the Persian scholars at the time the schools were visited was 13·5 years, and of the Arabic scholars 18·4 years. The following are the castes of the Persian scholars who are Hindus and the number of each:—

Brahman	... 111	Suvarnabanik	... 8	Göala	... 2
Kayastha	... 83	Sadgop	... 6	Sunri	... 2
Kaivarta	... 11	Gandhabanik	... 4	Aguri	... 1
Vaidya	... 10	Kamar	... 4	Swarnakar	... 1
		Vaishnava	... 2		

In addition to nearly all the works already enumerated, the following are included in the course of Persian reading in this district, viz., *Amadnameh* on the conjugation of verbs; the formal reading of the Koran; *Tubinamēh*, or tales of a parrot; *Ruqaat-i-Alamgir*, the correspondence of Alamgir; *Insha-i-Yusafi*, forms of epistolary correspondence; *Mulatafa*, a collection of letters exhibiting different styles of penmanship; *Toghra*, an account of Cashmir; and the poems of *Zahir*, of *Nasir Ali*, and of *Sayib*.

The only additional work in Arabic employed as a school-book in this district is the *Munshaab* on Arabic conjugations.

#### *District of Burdwan.*

In this district there are 3 schools in which nothing more than the formal reading of the Koran is taught as described in

the 2nd report, p. 27—29, 93 Persian schools and 8 Arabic schools.

Seven of these schools are found in one village and three in another, six villages contain two each and eighty-two villages contain one each.

There are three Musalman teachers to the three schools for the formal reading of the Koran, and twelve Musalman teachers to the eight schools of Arabic learning; two of these schools having each three teachers, of whom one teaches Arabic, the second Persian, and the third watches over the manners and general conduct of the pupils. The ninety-three Persian schools have the same number of teachers, of whom eighty-six are Musalmans and seven Hindus. Of the latter four are Kayasthas, two Brahmans, and one a Gandhabanik. The average age of all the teachers is 39·5 years.

Twenty-two teachers instruct gratuitously, and of that number six also support and clothe the whole or a part of their scholars. I have not found any instance in which Hindu students receive from a Musalman teacher or patron anything beyond gratuitous instruction. Thus in one instance a maulavi gratuitously instructs seven Hindu scholars, but in addition to gratuitous instruction he gives also food and clothing to eleven Musalman students; in another, a maulavi gratuitously instructs two Hindu and six Musalman students, and he gives also food and clothing to five other Musalman students; and in a third case, a maulavi has thirteen Musalman students, all of whom he both instructs and supports. The rule appears to be that those students, whether Hindus or Musalmans, who are natives of the village in which the school is situated, receive gratuitous instruction only, while those Musalman students who are natives of other villages, and have come from a distance for the sake of instruction, receive also food and clothing. On the other hand, when a Hindu is the patron, as in the case of the Rajah of Burdwan, who supports two Persian schools, Musalman and Hindu scholars enjoy equal advantages, although the number of the former is less. Thus in one of the Rajah's schools 13 Hindus and 2 Musalmans, and in the other 13 Hindus and 1 Musalman, receive instruction and food for four years, after which they may continue to study but without receiving food. Some of the patrons and gratuitous teachers are men of great wealth or high character, and others, without possessing either of these, are holders of land by the tenure of Ayma which was apparently regarded in several instances as involving an obligation to give gratuitous instruction. This is more apparent in one case from the fact that the holder of the land, after long neglecting this obligation, lately sent three or four scholars to the neighbouring



schools whom he supports at his own expense. The remuneration of the paid teachers is as follows:—

			Rs.	As.	P.
11 teachers receive monthly wages	...	...	156	0	0
14 " " fees	...	...	70	8	0
1 teacher receives only his daily food	...	...	2	0	0
10 teachers receive monthly wages and uncooked food	...	...	61	11	0
1 teacher receives monthly wages and subsistence-money	...	...	25	0	0
29 teachers receive fees and uncooked food	...	...	151	3	0
2 " " monthly wages and annual presents	...	...	11	0	0
6 " " fees and annual presents	...	...	26	3	0
1 teacher receives weekly and annual presents	...	...	2	14	0
11 teachers receive fees, uncooked food, and annual presents	...	...	67	4	0

Thus 86 paid teachers receive in all rupees 573-11, averaging to each rupees 6-10-8 per month.

Out-houses, *baithak-khanas*, *chanāi-mandaps*, and *kachharis* are employed as school-houses here as elsewhere, the place occupied generally belonging to the principal supporter of the school, and sometimes to the teacher himself. In one instance, one of the scholars in a Persian school, in payment of the instruction he receives, supplies the teacher with a school-house rent-free. Of the Persian schools, about a dozen have school-houses expressly built for that purpose, and varying in the estimated cost of erection from six rupees to two hundred. Three of the Arabic schools have buildings estimated to have cost 50, 200 and 250 rupees respectively. Another has a school-house with a dwelling-house attached, in the upper-story of which the teacher lives, while the scholars are lodged below. Two of them have large endowments, with buildings estimated to cost, in one instance 15,000, and in the other 50,000, rupees. Each endowment is applied to the support not only of a school, but of a hospital, a mosque, and a sacred relic.

In 104 schools there are 971 scholars, averaging 9·3 to each school. Of the total number 17 are engaged in the formal reading of the Koran, 899 in the perusal of Persian works, and 55 in the study of Arabic learning. All the Koran-readers are Musalmans; of the Persian scholars, 451 are Musalmans and 448 are Hindus; and of the Arabic students, 51 are Musalmans and 4 are Hindus. Of the four Hindu students of Arabic, two are of the Aguri caste, one is a Kayastha, and one a Teli. The following are the castes and numbers of the 448 Hindus who are Persian scholars:—

Kayastha	... 172	Gandhabanik	... 2
Brahman	... 153	Kumar	... 2
Sadgop	... 50	Swarnakar	... 2
Aguri	... 42	Rajput	... 1
Suvarnabanik	... 8	Teli	... 1
Vaidya	... 4	Napit	... 1
Chhattri	... 3	Tanti	... 1
Sunri	... 3	Mayra	... 1
Kaivarta	... 2		

The following are the average ages of the scholars at the three periods formerly mentioned :—

Koran readers	...	...	8·7	10·4	13·2
Persian scholars	...	...	10·03	15·6	26·5
Arabic students	...	...	16·3	21·2	28·1

The following works, in addition to some mentioned under the preceding heads, are read in the schools of this district :—

In Persian, *Tis Takhti*, a spelling-book; *Farsi nameh* or *Sirab Dhoka*, a vocabulary; *Insha-i-Herkern*, forms of correspondence; *Nal Daman*, translation from Sanscrit of a love-story; the poems of *Urfi*, of *Hafiz*, of *Wahshati*, of *Ghani*, of *Badr*, and of *Khakani*, the last including both the *Tahfut-ul-Irakin* and *Kasaid-i-Khakani*; *Waqia Nyamat Khan Ali*, an account of the campaigns of Aurungzebe; *Hadikat-ul-Balaghat*, a grammar of rhetoric; *Shah Nameh*, Firdusis' national poem; and *Kuliyat-i-Khosro*, the works of Khosro.

In Arabic, *Saraf Mir* and *Hidayat-us-Sarf* on the etymology of the Arabic; *Miat Amil*, *Jummul*, *Tatamma*, *Hidayat-un-Nahv*, *Misba*, *Zawa*, *Kafia*, and *Sharh-i-Mulla* on syntax, *Zawa* being a commentary on *Misba*, and *Shar-i-Mulla* on *Kafia*; *Mizan-i-Mantik*, *Tahzib*, *Mir Zahid*, *Kutbi*, *Mir*, and *Mulla Jalal* on logic, *Kutbi* and *Mulla Jalal* being commentaries on *Mir Zahid*, and *Mir* a glossary to *Kutbi*; *Sharh-i-Waqia*, on the circumstantial of Islam, as the ceremonies of religion and the law of inheritance; *Nurulanwar*, on the fundamentals of Islam, as the unity of God and the mission of Mahomed; *Sirajiya*, compendium of Mahomedan law; *Hidaya*, on the law of inheritance; *Miscat-ul-Misabih*, on Mahomedan observances; *Shams-i-Bazigha* and *Sadra*, treatises on natural philosophy; *Sharh-i-Chaghmani*, a treatise on astronomy according to the Ptolemaic system; and *Tauji*, *Talbi*, and *Faragh*, treatises on metaphysics.

#### *District of South Behar.*

This district contains 291 schools, of which 279 are Persian and 12 Arabic.

One town contains nineteen, another eleven, a third seven, a fourth six, and a fifth five schools. Five villages contain three each; twenty-four, two each; and a hundred and eighty, one each.

The number of teachers is the same as the number of schools, and their average age is 34·2 years.

One of the Persian teachers is a Hindu of the writer-caste, and all the other teachers, both Persian and Arabic, are Musalmans.

Two of the teachers instruct gratuitously, and two others give both food and instruction to their pupils. The remaining teachers are remunerated as follows :—

		Rs.	As.	P.
1	teacher receives monthly wages and clothes and food for himself and scholars	46	8	0
1	" " monthly wages, food for himself and scholars, and the proceeds of an endowment of land...	165	5	4
2	teachers receive monthly wages	3	0	0
2	" " fees	7	7	0
5	" " monthly wages and uncooked food	16	8	0
14	" " fees and uncooked food	49	6	0
2	" " monthly wages and subsistence-money	8	8	0
22	" " fees and subsistence-money	75	11	0
2	" " fees and weekly presents	8	10	0
3	" " monthly wages and annual presents	5	10	0
10	" " fees and annual presents	27	3	9
6	" " monthly wages, uncooked food, and annual presents	80	15	3
57	" " fees, uncooked food, and annual presents	243	11	3
29	" " monthly wages, subsistence-money, and annual presents	101	8	9
95	" " fees, subsistence-money, and annual presents	454	7	3
1	teacher receives " " and weekly presents	7	0	0
1	" " monthly wages, weekly presents, and annual presents	3	2	3
1	" " fees, uncooked food, weekly presents, and annual presents	4	6	0
10	teachers receive monthly wages, subsistence-money, weekly presents, and annual presents	47	5	0
22	" " fees, subsistence-money, weekly presents, and annual presents	110	8	0
1	teacher receives fees, uncooked food, subsistence-money, weekly presents, and annual presents	5	6	9

Thus 287 teachers receive in all rupees 1,472-3-7, averaging to each rupees 5-2 per month.

There is another source of gain to the teachers of Persian schools in this district called *Shuru'ati*, or a payment made by every scholar at the commencement of a new book. This is so uncertain that it cannot strictly be regarded either as a monthly or an annual gain. In 579 instances in which I ascertained that this payment had been made, the total amount was rupees 138-9-6, which averages only three annas and about ten pie in each case; and as it is seldom that a school-book is changed oftener than once a year, and the average number of scholars to each school is about five, this will give each teacher an additional sum of rupee 1-3-2 per annum, or about an anna and a half monthly.

Two maulavis in this district are highly distinguished for learning, and they are both authors.

Maulavi Gholam Hossein, dwelling at *Sahebyunge* in the thana of that name, has written in Persian a compilation called *Jam-i-Bahadur Khani*, from various Arabic works on arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and the natural sciences, with additions of

his own. This work has been printed, and contains 720 pages. He is now engaged in the preparation of astronomical tables to be entitled *Zij Bahadur Khani*. The names of both works are intended as a compliment to his patron Bahadur Khan, one of the sons of Mitrajit Singh, the Rajah of Tikari.

Maulavi Mohiyuddin, dwelling at Erki in the thana of Jehanabad, has composed in Persian *Sharh-i-Abdul Rasul*, a commentary on the work of Abdul Rasul on Arabic syntax, consisting of 288 pages in manuscript; and *Jawab Chabbis Musair*, a treatise on Mahomedan observances, containing 12 pages, also in manuscript. In Arabic he has written *Majmua Taqrir Mantiq Amari*, explanatory of *Majmua*, a work on logic, and consisting of 32 pages in manuscript.

Rajah Mitrajit Singh also put into my hands a pamphlet on the agriculture of the district, written in Persian and printed, of which he stated himself to be the author. On examination I have found it to be the same in substance as the Short Essay on Husbandry translated by Mr. Lewis Dacosta and appended to his translation of the *Dewan Pusund*.

There are only two Persian and two Arabic schools that have appropriate buildings or school-houses, the pupils of the remaining schools finding or making accommodations for themselves, chiefly in the thresholds or verandas of the private dwelling-houses occupied by the patrons or teachers.

In 291 schools there are 1,486 scholars, averaging 5.1 to each school. There are 1,424 Persian scholars and 62 Arabic students. Of the Arabic students two are Hindus of the writer-caste and sixty are Musalmans, and of the Persian scholars 865 are Hindus and 559 are Musalmans. The following are the sub-divisions of the Hindus who are Persian scholars:—

Kayastha	... 711	Mahuri	... 3
Magadha	... 55	Vaishnava	... 2
Rajput	... 30	Sunri	... 2
Kshatriya	... 13	Kamar	... 1
Brahman	... 11	Luniar	... 1
Gaudhabanik	... 11	Napit	... 1
Kairi	... 90	Kurmi	... 1
Teli	... 4	Mayra	... 1
Swarnakar	... 4	Aguri	... 1
Bundela	... 3		

Of the total number of Hindu scholars eight were absent and of the Musalman scholars three were absent at the time the schools were visited, the remaining number of each class being present.

The average ages of the Persian and Arabic scholars at the three periods formerly mentioned are as follow :—

Persian scholars	...	...	7·8	11·1	21·5
Arabic students	...	...	12·3	16·0	24·2

The following works were found in use in the Persian schools :—*Mamagima*, an elementary work ; *Nisab-us-Subyan*, a vocabulary ; *Sawal Jawab*, dialogues ; *Bhagawan Das*, a grammar ; *Insha-i-Madho Ram*, *Insha-i-Musallas*, *Mukhtasar-ul-Ibarat*, *Inshai-Khurd*, *Mufid-ul-Insha*, *Insha-i-Munir*, *Insha-i-Brahman*, and *Muradi-i-Hasil*, forms of correspondence ; *Alqab Nameh*, on modes of address ; the poems of *Hilali* and *Kalim* ; *Zakuri*, an account of one of the kings of the Deccan ; *Kushaish Nameh* and *Kisseh Sultan*, tales ; *Nam-i-Haq*, names and attributes of God ; *Gauhar-i-Murad*, on the doctrines of Islam ; *Kiran-us Suadin*, a poem by Khosro ; and *Mizan-ut-Tib* and *Tiba-i-Akhber*, on medicine.

In the Arabic schools the following text-books were employed :—*Fusul Akberi*, on inflection ; *Nahv-i-Mir* and *Zuriri*, on syntax ; *Sharh-i-Tahzib*, commentary on *Tahzib*, a treatise on logic ; *Mukhtasar-ul-Mani*, a treatise on rhetoric ; *Maibadi*, on natural philosophy ; the elements of Euclid ; *Sharh-i-Tazkira*, on astronomy ; *Sharafiya*, on the law of inheritance ; *Dair* on the doctrines of Islam ; and *Almijasti*, astronomy of Ptolemy (Συγγραφὴ Μεγίστη).

### District of Tirkoot.

This district contains 238 schools, of which 234 are Persian and 4 Arabic.

Of these one town contains twenty-seven, another twelve, and a third eleven. Two villages contains four each, six three each, twenty-three, two each, and one hundred and sixteen one each.

The number of Persian teachers is the same as the number of Persian schools. The number of Arabic teachers is six, one of the Arabic schools having three teachers. The average age of all the teachers is 33·9 years.

One of the Persian teachers is a Hindu of the writer-caste ; and all the other teachers, both of Persian and Arabic schools, are Musalmans.

One teacher instructs gratuitously, and five teachers give gratuitous instruction to all their scholars, and food to twenty-two of them. The others are remunerated as follows :—

			Rs.	As.	P.
1 teacher gives subsistence-money to 14 scholars and receives monthly wages from a patron	...	...	8	5	3
11 teachers receive monthly wages	...	...	27	2	0
1 teacher receives fees	...	...	1	6	0

	Rs.	As.	P.
4 teachers receive subsistence-money ..	7	8	0
14 " " monthly wages and subsistence-money ..	42	4	0
8 " " fees and subsistence-money ...	11	14	0
4 " " monthly wages and annual presents ...	17	3	6
4 " " fees and annual presents ...	19	6	9
1 teacher receives fees, uncooked food, and annual presents ..	5	3	3
2 teachers receive monthly wages, subsistence-money and weekly presents ...	3	12	0
74 " " monthly wages, subsistence-money, and annual presents ...	221	9	9
34 " " fees, subsistence-money, and annual presents ..	95	8	3
3 " " fees, subsistence-money, and weekly presents ..	11	12	0
1 teacher receives fees and weekly and annual presents ...	4	4	9
3 teachers receive monthly wages, subsistence-money, uncooked food, and annual presents ...	9	11	0
54 " " monthly wages, subsistence-money, and weekly and annual presents ..	183	14	3
12 " " fees, subsistence-money, and weekly and annual presents ...	31	8	9

Thus 234 teachers receive in all rupees 702-5-6, averaging to each about rupees three per month. In 237 instances, which were individually ascertained, the sum of rupees 84-13 was received by the teachers as *Shurūati*, which, giving two scholars and a half to each school and a year to each school-book, makes an average addition of one anna and two pie to the monthly income of each teacher.

Mahomed Imam Shah and Bahram Shah, two of the three teachers of an Arabic school at *Darbhangā*, in the thana of that name, possess considerable property personal or endowed, and are men of high character, great intelligence, and extensive learning. They are brothers and are both authors.

Maulavi Mahomed Imam Shah, the elder brother, has written in Persian *Sharh-i-Khōlasat-ul-Hisab*, a commentary of 640 pages on *Khōlasat-ul-Hisab*, a treatise on arithmetic; and *Dāira-o-Jadwal-i-Najum*, a pamphlet of 8 pages on astronomy. In Arabic he has written *Hashya Sharh-i-Sullam*, notes extending to 240 pages on Hamidullah's commentary on Sullam, a work on logic; *Sharh-i-Kasideh Amali*, a commentary of 34 pages on *Kasideh Amali*, a work on the doctrines of religion; *Risaleh Rafāi Yalain*, a pamphlet of 36 pages on the sayings of Mahomed; *Mabāhisseh Imaniya*, miscellaneous essays extending to 160 pages; *Durur-i-Mohammadi*, a treatise of 40 pages on theology; and *Siraj-ul-Kalub*, a tract of 18 pages on Sufeeism.

Maulavi Bahram Shah, the younger brother, has written in Persian *Risaleh Tauzih-ul-Biyar*, a pamphlet of 48 pages on the doctrines of Islam, and *Durur-ul-Islām* one of 44 pages on the law of inheritance. In Arabic he has written *Risaleh Ramzul Hidayat*, a tract of 8 pages on the doctrines of Islam; and *Risaleh Asfāar-ul-Mahjub*, another of the same size on the law of inheritance.

There are in all twenty-three school-houses, averaging in the estimated cost of erection from twelve annas to a hundred rupees. Those schools that have no school-houses are accommodated in mosques, imambarahs, dwelling-houses, verandas, kachhris, and out-houses belonging to the patrons or teachers.

In 238 schools there are 598 scholars, averaging 2.5 to each school. All were present at the time the different schools were visited. Of the whole number, 569 are Persian scholars and 29 Arabic students. Of the Arabic students, two are Hindus of whom one is a Brahman and the other a Kayastha, and the remaining twenty-seven are Musalmans. Of the Persian scholars, 126 are Musalmans and 443 Hindus; and the sub-divisions of the latter are as follow :—

Kayastha	... 349	Kshatriya	... 6	Swarnakar	... 1
Brahman	... 30	Aguri	... 5	Göala	... 1
Rajput	... 22	Barnawar	... 4	Gandhabanik	... 1
Magadha	... 20	Kalal	... 4		

The average ages of the Persian and Arabic scholars at the three periods formerly mentioned are as follow :—

Persian scholars	.. 6.8	... 10.8	... 19.3
Arabic students	... 12.1	... 17.5	... 25.4

The following works were found in use in the Persian and Arabic schools, exclusive of others previously mentioned.

In the Persian schools, *Mahmud Nameh*, an elementary work; *Khushhal-us-Subyan*, a vocabulary; *Nisab-i-Musallas*, a dictionary; *Mahzuz-ul-Haruf*, *Jawahir-ul-Tarkib*, and *Dastur-ul-Mubtadi*, on grammar; *Mufid-ul-Insha*, *Fyz Baksh*, *Mubarik Nemeh*, and *Amanullah Hossein*, forms of correspondence; the poems of *Fahmi*; and *Ruqat-i-Abulfazl*, the letters of Abulfazl.

In the Arabic schools, *Mir Zahid Risaleh*, on logic; *Akaidah Nisfi*, on the doctrines of Islam; *Kanz-ul-Dahäik*, on the sayings of Mohammad; and *Kalamullah Majid*, the sacred word of God (the Koran).

## SECTION X.

### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE STATE OF PERSIAN AND ARABIC INSTRUCTION.

*First.*—The Hindustani or Urdu is the current spoken language of the educated Musalmans of Bengal and Behar, and it is a remarkable feature in the constitution of Mohammanadan society in these provinces, and I infer throughout India that the vernacular language of that class is never employed in the schools as the medium or instrument of written instruction. Bengali

school-books are employed by the Hindus of Bengal, and Hindi school-books by the Hindus of Behar; but although Urdu is more copious and expressive, more cultivated and refined than either, and possesses a richer and more comprehensive literature, Urdu school-books are wholly unknown. It is the language of conversation in the daily intercourse of life and in the business of the world, and it is the language also of oral instruction for the explanation of Persian and Arabic, but it is never taught or learned for its own sake, or for what it contains. It is acquired in a written form only indirectly and at second-hand through the medium of the Persian, whose character it has adopted and from which it has derived almost all its vocables, and it is employed as a written language chiefly in popular poetry and tales and in female correspondence, and often also in the pulpit. The absence of Urdu schools for the Musalman population, corresponding with the Bengali and Hindi schools for the Hindus, may explain, in some measure, the greater degradation and ignorance of the lower classes of Musalmans when compared with the corresponding classes of the Hindu population; and the first step to their improvement must be to supply this defect.

*Second.*—Except in those cases in which the Musalmans resort to Bengali and Hindi schools, *Persian instruction is the only substitute for vernacular instruction.* Those Musalmans and Hindus who have received a Persian education have nearly the same command of the Persian as a written language that educated Englishmen have of their mother tongue. They acquire it in their earliest years at school, in after-life they continue to read the works it contains for instruction or amusement; they can conserve in it, although it is not so employed in general society; and they employ it as the means of communication in the private correspondence of friendship and in the written transactions of business. It is occasionally the language of the pulpit in the celebrations of the moharram; it is the language of the long established manuscript Akhbars or Intelligencers of the native courts, and of the printed newspapers of modern times addressed to the educated classes of society; and the employment of a less worthy medium in composition is generally considered inconsistent with the dignity of literature and science, philosophy and religion,—more as the relaxation than the exercise of an instructed mind. The Persian language, therefore, must be pronounced to have a strong hold on native society.

*Third.*—There is no connection between the Bengali and Sanscrit schools of Bengal, or between the Hindi and Sanscrit schools of Behar; the teachers, scholars, and instruction of the common schools are totally different from those of the schools of learning,—the teachers and scholars being drawn from different classes of society; and the instruction directed to different objects. But this remark does not apply to the Persian and Arabic schools,



which are intimately connected and which almost imperceptibly pass into each other. The Arabic teacher teaches Persian also in the same school and to the same pupils, and an Arabic school is sometimes known from a Persian school only by having a single Arabic scholar studying the most elementary Arabic work, while all the other scholars read Persian. The same scholars who are now studying Arabic formerly read, or may still be reading, Persian in the same school and under the same teacher; and the scholars in an Arabic school who are now reading Persian only will probably in the same school, and under the same teacher, advance to the study of Arabic. The only distinction that can be drawn is that, while there is no Arabic teacher who does not or may not teach Persian, there are many Persian teachers who do not and cannot teach Arabic. But the class for which both Persian and Arabic schools exist is the same, and that is the upper class of native society, whether Hindus or Musalmans are the scholars, and whether Persian or Arabic is the language taught. Both languages are foreign, and both classes of schools are inaccessible to the body of the people.

*Fourth.*—It is a question to what extent Persian and Arabic instruction is directed and sought by Hindus and Musalmans, respectively; and the following table affords some means of estimating their relative proportion by exhibiting the actual number of teachers and scholars belonging to each class:—

	Teachers.		Scholars.	
	Hindu.	Musalman.	Hindu.	Musalman.
Moorshedabad ...	...	19	62	47
Beerbhoom ...	5	68	245	245
Burdwan ...	7	101	452	519
South Behar ...	1	290	867	619
Tirhoot ...	1	237	470	128
Total ...	14	715	2,096	1,558

Arabic instruction is wholly, and Persian instruction is almost wholly, in the hands of Musalmans,—there being only 14 teachers of Persian who are Hindus, to 715 teachers of Persian and Arabic who are Musalmans. This is a consequence of the nature of the instruction communicated; the languages, the literature, and the learning taught being strictly Mohammadan. The relative number of Hindu and Mussalman scholars is very different, there being 2,096 of the former to 1,558 of the latter; which is a very remarkable contrast with the number of teachers belonging to the two classes of the population. Is this comparative large number of Hindu scholars the effect of a laudable desire to study a foreign literature placed within their reach? Or is it the effect of an artificial stimulus? This may be judged by comparing the number of Hindu teachers and scholars of Persian which until lately was almost the exclusive language of local administration with that of Hindu teachers and scholars of Arabic, which is not called into use in the ordinary routine of Government. With regard to teachers, there is not a single Hindu teacher of Arabic in the five districts,—all are Musalmans. With regard to scholars, there are only 9 Hindu to 149 Musalman students of Arabic, and consequently 2,087 Hindus to 1,409 Musalmans who are learning Persian. The small comparative number of Arabic students who are Hindus, and the large comparative number of Persian scholars of the same class, seem to admit of only one explanation, viz., that the study of Persian has been unnaturally forced by the practice of Government; and it seems probable that even a considerable number of the Musalmans who learn Persian may be under the same artificial influence.

*Fifth.*—The average, monthly gain of the teachers varies from rupees 8-14-1 in Moorshedabad to rupees 3 in Tirhoot, the medium rates being rupees 6-6-1 in Beerbhoom, rupees 6-10-8 in Burdwan, and rupees 5-2 in South Behar. The difference between the highest and the lowest rates may be explained by various causes. One cause will be found in the average number of scholars taught by each master, the highest average being 9·3 in Burdwan, the lowest 2·5 in Tirhoot; and the medium averages being 6·7 in Beerbhoom, 5·7 in Moorshedabad, and 5·1 in South Behar. The lowest rate of monthly gain and the smallest average number of scholars are found in Tirhoot. Further, the persons acquainted with Persian and seeking employment are numerous, the general standard of living is very low, and both the number of those who receive and the poverty of those who give employment of this kind combine to establish a very low rate of remuneration. In Behar too, and especially in Tirhoot, parents do not nearly to the same extent as in the Bepgal districts unite with each other to support a teacher for the benefit of their children; and thus each teacher is very much isolated, seldom extending his

instructions beyond the children of four or three families, and often limiting them to two and even one. The effects are waste of power and degradation of character to teachers and taught.

*Sixth.*—An attempt was made to ascertain the age of each scholar at three separate periods, viz., the age of his entering school or commencing the particular study referred to; his age at the time the school was visited; and the probable age of his leaving school or concluding the particular study in which he was then engaged. The average results are exhibited in the following table; and from the results is shown the average duration of study. At the time the Beerbhoom district was visited, the then actual age only of each scholar was noted without the two other items which are consequently wanting in the table:—

	Persian.				Arabic.			
	Average ages.			Duration of study.	Average ages.			Duration of study.
Moorshedabad ...	9·5	13·5	20·8	11·3	11·0	17·4	21·1	10·1
Beerbhoom ...	—	13·5	—	—	—	18·4	—	—
Burdwan ...	10·03	15·6	26·5	16·4	16·3	21·2	28·1	11·8
South Behar ...	7·8	11·1	21·5	13·7	12·3	16·0	24·2	11·9
Tirhoot ...	6·8	10·8	19·3	12·5	12·1	17·5	25·4	13·3

Thus the average duration both of Persian and Arabic study is about eleven or twelve years, the former generally extending to the twentieth or twenty-first and the latter to the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year of age, affording ample time for the introduction of new or the improvement and extension of old courses of study.

*Seventh.*—The nature of the instruction given in these institutions may be in some measure estimated by the subjects of the works used as school or text books. In Persian schools elementary and grammatical works, forms of correspondence, and popular poems and tales are chiefly read: occasionally a work on rhetoric or a treatise on theology or medicine is also met with. In the Arabic schools the course of study takes a much wider range. The grammatical works are numerous, systematized, and profound; complete courses of reading on rhetoric, logic, and law are embraced; the external observances and fundamental doctrines of Islam are minutely studied; the works of Euclid on geometry and Ptolemy on astronomy in translation are not unknown; other

branches of natural philosophy are also taught; and the whole course is crowned by the perusal of treatises on metaphysics deemed the highest attainment of the instructed scholar. Perhaps we shall not err widely if we suppose that the state of learning amongst the Musalmans of India resembles that which existed among the nations of Europe before the invention of printing.

*Eighth.*—In estimating the amount of intellectual ability and acquirement that might be brought into requisition for the promotion or improvement of education amongst the Mohammadan population, it may be remarked that the Persian teachers as a class are much superior in intelligence to the Bengali and Hindi teachers, but they are also much more frequently the retainers or dependents of single families or individual patrons, and being thus held by a sort of domestic tie they are less likely to engage in the prosecution of a general object. The Arabic teachers are so few that they can scarcely be taken into the account, and in the Bengal districts I did not find that any of them had attempted any form of literary composition. Among the few Arabic teachers of South Behar and Tirhoot, the case was very different, four being authors of high repute for learning. With three of these I came into personal communication and they were evidently men of great mental activity and possessing an ardent thirst for knowledge. Various Persian and Arabic works of native learning given to me by the General Committee of Public Instruction for distribution were presented to these teachers and their pupils and they were not only thankfully but most greedily received. They had also a vague, but nevertheless a very strong desire to acquire a knowledge of European systems of learning, and I could reckon with confidence on receiving their co-operation in any measure which without offending their social or religious prejudices should have a tendency to gratify that desire.

*Burdwan.*

There are four girls' schools in the district, of which one, situated at Japat in the Culna thana, and superintended by the Reverend Mr. Alexander, is supported by the Ladies' Society of Calcutta; a second, situated in the town of Burdwan, and superintended by the Reverend Mr. Linke, is supported by the same Society; a third, situated on the Mission premises in the neighbourhood of Burdwan, is supported and superintended by the Reverend Mr. Weitbrecht; and a fourth, situated in the neighbourhood of Cutwa in the thana of that name, and superintended by the Reverend William Carey of the Baptist Missionary Society, is supported by the Calcutta Baptist Society for promoting Native Female Education. In all these cases the wives of the Missionaries co-operate in the superintendence.

Besides the above-mentioned gratuitous superintendence there are thirteen paid teachers employed in these four schools; and of that number eight teachers are attached to the Japat school alone, two to the Cutwa school, two to the Burdwan school, and one to Mr. Weitbrecht's school. Six of the teachers are Native Christians and seven are Hindus. Of the Native Christian teachers four are males and two females. The following are the castes of the Hindu teachers:—

Rajbansi	...	2	Kshatrya	...	1
Brahman	...	1	Chhatri	...	1
Kayastha	...	1	Vaishnava	...	1

The teachers are paid by monthly salaries—

			Rs.	As.	P.
Six of the teachers paid by the Ladies' Society receive Rupees 5 each	...		30	0	0
Four receive Rupees 4 each	...		16	0	0
One teacher receives from Mr. Weitbrecht	...		8	0	0
Two teachers paid by the Baptist Society receive Rupees 12-8 each	...		25	0	0

The average is Rupees 6-12-3 to each teacher.

The average age of all the teachers is 26·7 years. The age of one of the female Native Christian teachers is 16, and of the other 18 years.

The number of girls taught in the four schools is 175. Their average age, when they entered school, was 6·5 years; their average age at the time when the schools were visited was 9·1 years; and the average age at which they intended or were expected to leave school was 14·9 years.

Of the total number of scholars one is a Musalman girl; thirty-six are the daughters of Native Christian parents, or orphans rescued from starvation and supported by the Missionaries; and one hundred and thirty-eight are the daughters of Hindu parents. The Hindus are thus sub-divided according to their castes—

Bagdhi	...	58	Vaishnava	...	3
Muchi	...	18	Tanti	...	6
Bauri	...	17	Chandal	...	2
Dom	...	17	Kurmi	...	1
Hari	...	12	Baiti	...	1

A sum of Rupees 1-8 per month is allowed by the Ladies' Society for refreshments to the children. Three female messengers are employed to bring the children to school and to conduct them home. If one messenger brings ten scholars every day for a month she gets two rupees, and more or less in proportion to the number. It is not necessary that the same scholars should always be brought by the same messenger; the number only is regarded.

The only language taught in the girls' schools is Bengali. The books read are chiefly religious and the instruction Christian.

They are also taught needle-work. The following is the distribution of the scholars into four grades of Bengali instruction :—

(a) Girls who read only ...	...	112
(b) „ who write on the ground ...	...	2
(c) „ „ on the palm-leaf ...	...	57
(d) „ „ on the plantain-leaf ...	...	4

The only other institution in this district to be noticed is an infants' school situated on the Church Mission premises in the neighbourhood of Burdwan. The children are about 15 in number of both sexes, partly Native Christian children and partly orphans. They are under the care of Miss Jones, lately arrived from England, and well acquainted with the modes of infant instruction in use there. The ear is chiefly taught, and the exercises are pronounced in recitative.

#### *District of South Behar.*

In this district there is only one institution to be noticed under the present section. At Sahebgunge, the chief town of the district, a school in which English, Persian, and Arabic are taught has been established by Raja Mitrajit Singh of Tikari, and is superintended by his son Mirza Bahadur Khan. Two Maulavis and one English teacher are employed; and as they discharge their respective duties without any connection or communication with each other, I have preferred considering them as at the head of three separate institutions. The Raja has granted the use of a garden-house for the purposes of the school, but one of the Maulavis causes his pupils, six in number, to attend him at his own dwelling-house, and the other meets his, five in number, in one of the apartments of the garden-house. These two schools have already been enumerated amongst the Persian and Arabic schools in Section IX.

## SECTION XII.

### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE STATE OF INSTRUCTION IN THE SCHOOLS MENTIONED IN THE PRECEDING SECTION.

It is impossible for me fully to express the confirmed conviction I have acquired of the utter impracticability of the views of those, if there are any such, who think that the English language should be the sole or chief medium of conveying knowledge to the natives. Let any one conceiving the desirableness of such a plan abandon in imagination at least the metropolis of the province or the chief town of the district in which he may happen to be living, and with English society let him abandon for a while his English

predilections and open his mind to the impressions which fact and observation may produce. Let him traverse a pergunnah, a thana, a district, from north to south, from east to west, and in all directions. Let him note how village appears after village, before and behind, to the right hand and to the left, in endless succession; how numerous and yet how scattered the population; how uniform the poverty and the ignorance; and let him recollect that this process must be carried on until he has brought within the view of his eye or of his mind about ninety or a hundred millions of people diffused over a surface estimated to be equal in extent to the whole of Europe. It is difficult to believe that it should have been proposed to communicate to this mass of human beings through the medium of a foreign tongue all the knowledge that is necessary for their higher civilisation, their intellectual improvement, their moral guidance, and their physical comfort; but since much has been said and written and done which would seem to bear this interpretation, and since it is a question which involving the happiness and advancement of millions will not admit of compromise, I deem it my duty to state in the plainest and most direct terms that my conviction of the utter impracticability of such a design has strengthened with my increased opportunities of observation and judgment.

Although *the English language cannot become the universal instrument, European knowledge must be the chief matter of instruction*; and the circumstances in which the country is placed point out the English language, not as the exclusive, but as one of the most obvious, means of communicating that instruction. I have, therefore, watched with much interest and promoted by my suggestions I could offer every desire and endeavour on the part of natives to acquire a knowledge of our language. In the districts I have visited, the desire cannot be said to be general, only because it is vain to desire that which is plainly unattainable; but it has been found to exist in instances and in situations where its existence is very encouraging. I have met with a learned Hindu and a learned Musalman in different districts, each in the private retirement of his native village attempting by painful and unassisted industry to elaborate some acquaintance with our language, and eagerly grasping at the slightest temporary aid that was afforded. Nor is it only in individual cases that this anxiety is displayed. The school at Raipur in the Beerbhoom district was established and continues to be supported through the desire of a wealthy native landholder to give an English education to his children. The Raja of Burdwan's school is the more remarkable because it is established in Burdwan where another English school exists, which, although under Missionary direction, has been liberally patronized by the Raja, and in which the scholars receive superior instruction to that which is given by the Raja's teachers. The support he has bestowed on the Missionary English school may

be attributed to European influence or to a desire to conciliate the favor of the European rulers of the country; but the establishment of a separate school in his own house and at his own sole expense can be ascribed only to his opinion of the importance of knowledge of English to his dependents, and a desire to aid them in its acquisition. The English branch of the institution at *Sahebgunge* supported by Raja Mitrajit Singh and superintended by his son, does not appear to have been of native origin; and generally speaking the desire to know English is found in fewer instances in the Bchar than in the Bengal districts. In both it is chiefly learned and wealthy men that have sought it for themselves or their children; and, with a view to purposes of practical utility, it is to those classes in the present condition of native society that it is most suitable.

The orphan schools at *Berhampore* and *Burdwan* belong to a class of institutions which deserves special notice and encouragement not merely because such institutions supply the immediate wants of destitute orphans, which alone constitutes a strong claim, provided the means employed are not allowed to weaken existing domestic ties; but also because the object is to train them to the arts and habits of industry by which they may in after-life earn their own bread. In other schools a knowledge of books, of the words and phrases which books contain, and of the ideas which the understanding of children can apprehend or their memory retain, is taught; in these industrial institutions, some kind of art or trade is also taught, the physical powers are developed, enjoyment and profit are connected in the mind with labour as effect with cause, and thus both the capacity and the disposition are created that will prevent the youth so instructed from becoming a burden either to himself or to others, and that will make him an industrious and useful member of society. I am not aware of the existence of other institutions of the same kind in other parts of the country, and the two I have mentioned are still in their infancy. The increase of their number with a view to the improvement of the condition and habits of the lower classes of the people is eminently deserving of consideration.

The importance of the object contemplated by the establishment of native female schools, and the benevolence of those who have established them, cannot be questioned, but some doubt may be entertained of the adaptation of the means to the end. The native prejudice against female instruction, although not insuperable, is strong; and the prejudice against the object should not be increased by the nature of the means employed to effect it. Now it appears nearly certain that, independent of the prejudice against the object, native parents of respectable rank must be unwilling to allow their daughters, contrary to the customs of native society, to leave their own homes and their own



neighbourhoods and proceed to a distance, greater or less in different cases, to receive instruction; and this unwillingness cannot be lessened if it should appear that they will be placed in frequent and unavoidable communication with teachers and sircars of the male sex and of youthful age, and in some instances with the corrupt and vicious of their own sex. To re-assure the minds of native parents, native matrons are employed as messengers and protectors to conduct the girls to and from school; but it is evident that this does not inspire confidence, for, with scarcely any exception, it is only children of the very poorest and lowest castes that attend the girls' schools, and their attendance is avowedly purchased. The backwardness of native parents of good caste may be further explained by the fact that the girls' schools are under the sole direction of Missionaries; and the case of the Beerbhoom school shows that to combine the special object of conversion with the general object of female instruction must be fatal to the latter without accomplishing the former purpose. These remarks must be understood as strictly limited to the schools I have specifically described, and as inapplicable even amongst them to those in which the scholars, as in the case of female orphans, are under the constant, direct, and immediate superintendence of their Missionary instructors. In such cases the object and the means are equally deserving of unqualified approval; but it must be obvious that female instruction can never in this way become general.

### SECTION XIII.

#### POPULATION.

The preceding sections contain the substance of the information collected respecting the state of school-instruction; and the state of domestic and adult instruction remains to be shown. A census of the population within the limits to which this part of the inquiry was confined was found an indispensable preliminary, and the results of the census will, therefore, in the first place be given.

#### *City of Moorshedabad.*

In the nineteen thanas included within the city jurisdiction there are 373 mahallas and villages. The mahallas are the streets, quaters, or wards of the city properly so called. The villages contain the scattered agricultural population.

The number of families is 34,754, averaging 93.4 families to each mahalla or village. The number of Hindu families is 24,094, of Musalman families 10,647, and of Native Christian families 13.

The number of persons is 124,804, of whom 84,050 are Hindus, 40,709 are Musalmans, and 45 are Native Christians; averaging 3·591 persons to each of the total number of families, 3·488 to each Hindu family, 3·823 to each Musalman family, and 3·461 to each Native Christian family. The proportion of Hindus to Musalmans and Christians is as 100 to 48·4. In the enumeration both of families and persons, the native soldiers cantoned at Berhampore, and Europeans, whether public functionaries civil and military or private individuals, have been omitted.

The number of males of all ages is 62,519, and of females of all ages 62,285, giving a proportion of 100 males to 99·6 females. In the enumeration of males, sixty-three eunuchs, stated to be of Abyssinian birth and belonging to the household of the Nawab of Moorshedabad, have been included.

The number of males above fourteen years of age is 46,670, and of females of the same age 51,148, giving a proportion of 100 males to 109·5 females above fourteen years.

The number of males between fourteen and five years of age is 9,539, and of females of the same age 5,553, giving a proportion of 100 males to 58·2 females between fourteen and five.

The number of males below five years of age is 6,310, and of females of the same age 5,584, giving a proportion of 100 males to 88·4 females below five.

The number of persons, male and female, above fourteen years of age, is 97,818, and the number of persons, male and female, below five, is 11,894, amounting together to 109,712; the number of persons, male and female, between fourteen and five years of age, is 15,092; and the proportion of the population above fourteen and below five to the population between fourteen and five is as 100 to 13·7.

#### *District of Moorshedabad.*

Of the eighteen Mofussil thanas of this district the one selected for investigation was the Daulatbazar thana which was found to contain 183 towns and villages.

The number of families is 12,832, averaging 70·1 families to each town or village. The number of Hindu families is 7,058, and of Musalman families 5,774.

The number of persons is 62,037; of whom 33,199 are Hindus, and 28,838 are Musalmans, averaging 4·834 persons to each of the total number of families, 4·703 to each Hindu family, and 4·994 to each Musalman family. The proportion of Hindus to Musalmans is as 100 to 86·8.

The number of males of all ages is 31,560, and of females, of all ages 30,477, giving a proportion of 100 males to 96·5 females.

The number of males above fourteen years of age is 20,222, and of females of the same age 22,615, giving a proportion of 100 males to 111·3 females above fourteen years.

The number of males between fourteen and five years of age is 6,801, and of females of the same age 3,627, giving a proportion of 100 males to 53·3 females between fourteen and five.

The number of males below five years of age is 4,537, and of females of the same age 4,235, giving a proportion of 100 males to 93·3 females below five.

The number of persons, male and female, above fourteen years of age, is 42,837, and the number of persons, male and female, below five is 8,772, amounting together to 51,609; the number of persons, male and female, between fourteen and five years of age, is 10,428; and the proportion of the population above fourteen and below five to the population between fourteen and five is as 100 to 20·2.

#### *District of Beerbhoom.*

Of the seventeen thanas of this district the one selected for special investigation was the Nanglia thana which was found to contain 267 villages.

The number of families is 9,117, averaging 37·1 families to each village. The number of Hindu families is 7,597, of Musalman families 612, of Santhal families 786, and of Dhangar families 122.

The number of persons is 46,416, of whom 38,489 are Hindus, 2,977 are Musalmans, 4,261 are Santhals, and 689 are Dhangars, averaging 5·091 persons to each of the total number of families, 5·063 to each Hindu family, 4·864 to each Musalman family, 5·421 to each Santhal family, and 5·647 to each Dhangar family. The proportion of Hindus to the aggregate of Musalmans, Santhals, and Dhangars is as 100 to 20·5.

The number of males of all ages is 23,496, and of females of all ages 22,920, giving a proportion of 100 males to 97·5 females.

The number of males above fourteen years of age is 14,414, and of females of the same age 15,996, giving a proportion of 100 males to 110·9 females above fourteen.

The number of males between fourteen and five years of age is 5,487, and of females of the same age 3,442, giving a proportion of 100 males to 62·7 females between fourteen and five.

The number of males below five is 3,595, and of females of the same age 3,482, giving a proportion of 100 males to 96·8 females below five.

The number of persons, male and female, above fourteen years of age, is 30,410, and the number of persons, male and female, below five years of age, is 7,077, amounting together to 37,487; the number of persons, male and female, between fourteen and five years of age, is 8,929; and the proportion of the population above fourteen and below five to the population between fourteen and five is as 100 to 23·8.

*District of Burdwan.*

Of the thirteen thanas of this district the one selected for special investigation was the *Culina* thana, which was found to contain 288 towns and villages.

The number of families is 23,346, averaging 81·06 families to each town or village. The number of Hindu families is 19,047, of Musalman families 4,287, and of Native Christian families 12.

The number of persons is 116,425, of whom 93,923 are Hindus, 22,459 are Musalmans, and 43 are Native Christians, averaging 4·986 persons to each of the total number of families, 4·935 to each Hindu family, 5·238 to each Musalman family, and 3·583 to each Native Christian family. The proportion of Hindus to the aggregate of Musalmans and Native Christians is as 100 to 23·9.

The number of males of all ages is 59,844, and of females of all ages 56,581, giving a proportion of 100 males to 94·5 females.

The number of males above fourteen years of age is 38,974, and of females of the same age 42,071, giving a proportion of 100 males to 107·9 females above fourteen.

The number of males between 14 and five years of age is 11,334, and of females of the same age 6,842, giving a proportion of 100 males to 60·3 females between 14 and five.

The number of males below five years of age is 9,536, and of females of the same age 7,668, giving a proportion of 100 males to 80·4 females below five.

The number of persons, male and female, above 14 years of age, is 81,045, and the number of persons, male and female, below five, is 17,204, amounting together to 98,249; the number of persons, male and female between 14 and five, is 18,176; and the proportion of the population above 14 and below five to the population between 14 and five is as 100 to 18·4.

*District of South Behar.*

Of the nine thanas of this district the one selected for special investigation was the *Jehanabad* thana which was found to contain 803 towns and villages.

The number of families is 14,953, averaging 18·6 families to each town or village. The number of Hindu families is 12,549, and of Musalman families 2,404.

The number of persons is 81,480, of whom 69,515 are Hindus, and 11,965 are Musalmans, averaging 5·462 persons to each of the total number of families, 5·539 to each Hindu family, and 4·977 to each Musalman family. The proportion of Hindus to Musalmans is as 100 to 17·2.

The number of males of all ages is 44,386, and of females of all ages 37,094, giving a proportion of 100 males to 83·5 females.

The number of males above 14 years of age is 29,936, and of females of the same age 27,637, giving a proportion of 100 males to 92·3 females above 14.

The number of males between 14 and five years of age is 9,781 and of females of the same age 5,814, giving a proportion of 100 males to 59·4 females between 14 and five.

The number of males below five years of age is 4,669, and of females of the same age 3,643, giving a proportion of 100 males to 78·02 females below five.

The number of persons, male and female, above 14 years of age, is 57,573, and the number of persons, male and female, below five, is 8,312, amounting together to 65,885; the number of persons, male and female, between 14 and five years of age, is 15,595; and the proportion of the population above 14 and below five to the population between 14 and five is as 100 to 23·6.

*District of Tirhoot.*

Of the 16 thanas of this district the one selected for special investigation was the *Bhawara* thana, which was found to contain 402 villages.

The number of families is 13,143, averaging 32·6 families to each village. The number of Hindu families is 11,946, and of Musalman families 1,197.

The number of persons is 65,812, of whom 59,836 are Hindus, and 5,976 are Musalmans, averaging 5·007 persons to each of the total number of families, 5·008 to each Hindu family, and 4·992 to each Musalman family. The proportion of Hindus to Musalmans is as 100 to 9·9.

The number of males of all ages is 35,961, and the number of females of all ages is 29,851, giving a proportion of 100 males to 83 females.

The number of males above 14 years of age is 23,224, and the number of females of the same age is 21,192, giving a proportion of 100 males to 91·2 females above 14.

The number of males between 14 and five years of age is 8,368, and the number of females of the same age is 5,041, giving a proportion of 100 males to 60·2 females between 14 and five.

The number of males below five years of age is 4,369, and the number of females of the same age is 3,618, giving a proportion of 100 males to 82·8 females below five.

The number of persons male and female, above fourteen years of age, is 44,416, and the number of persons, male and female, below five, is 7,987, amounting together to 52,403; the number of persons, male and female, between fourteen and five, is 3,409; and the proportion of the population above fourteen and below five to the population between fourteen and five is as 100 to 25·5.

## SECTION XIV

### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE POPULATION RETURNS.

*First.*—The number of villages mentioned is the number of actual settlements of people or assemblages of houses inhabited by families at a greater or less distance from similar settlements or assemblages; and it is different from the number of *mauzas* or villages recorded in the Magistrate and Collector's office as belonging to the respective thanas. It is probable that the latter were all originally inhabited villages, but through various causes some of them have ceased to be so, while in other instances the number of inhabited villages has increased without any increase in the official enumeration. The difference, therefore, between that enumeration and the ascertained number of inhabited villages occurs in the way

both of excess and defect, as will appear from the following comparison :—

Thanas.	Number of villages recorded in the Magistrate and Collector's Office.	Ascertained number of inhabited villages.
Daulatbazar ...	203	183
Nanglia ...	224	267
Culna ...	328	288
Jehanabad ...	859	803
Bhawara ...	340	402

The ascertained number of inhabited villages in thana *Nanglia* and *Bhawara* is greater, and in thanas *Daulatbazar*, *Culna*, and *Jehanabad* less, than the official number of villages. The excess in the two former may be attributed to the extension of cultivation in the Beerbhoom and Tirhoot districts, leading to the gradual formation of new villages. The causes of deficiency in the three latter I had not the means of satisfactorily investigating, but I have met with individual instances of the abandonment of villages which were popularly ascribed to pestilence, with others caused by the encroachments of the neighbouring river, with others that were attributed to disagreement with European settlers, and with others that were alleged to have arisen from the quarrels of adjoining zemindars leading to excessive exactions from the cultivators.

*Second.*—The average number of families in each village is an evidence and measure of a comparatively dense or sparse population. The following are the results in the different thanas :—

Daulatbazar ...	...	...	70·1
Nanglia ...	...	...	37·1
Culna ...	...	...	81·06
Jehanabad ...	...	...	18·6
Bhawara ...	...	...	32·6

The extremes are Culna and Jehanabad, the former a populous thana of a very populous district, and the latter a thana of a district not remarkable for the scantiness, but for the dispersion of its population. Intermediate degrees of social aggregation are found in the other three thanas. Compared with the other Bengal districts Beerbhoom is thinly peopled, but it will be observed that the average number of families in each village in thana Nanglia of that district, although the lowest of the Bengal averages, is greater, than the highest of the Behar averages, tending to show the

comparative sparseness of the population throughout Behar. The cause of this and of other effects will probably be found in the extreme sub-division of landed property in that province; but whatever the cause, the fact is necessary to be known in framing suitable measures for the promotion of general instruction.

*Third.*—For the purpose of comparison I subjoin in one view the number of persons in each family, taking the different classes of the population collectively and separately—

		Average number of persons in each family.	Average number of persons in each Hindu family.	Average number of persons in each Musalman family.	Average number of persons in each Santhal family.	Average number of persons in each Dhangar family.	Average number of persons in each Native Christian family.
City of Moorshedabad	...	3.591	3.488	3.823	...	...	3.461
Thana Daulatbazar	...	4.834	4.703	4.994	...	...	...
Thana Nanglia	...	5.091	5.066	4.864	5.421	5.647	...
Thana Culna	...	4.986	4.931	5.238	...	...	3.583
Thana Jehanabad	...	5.462	5.539	4.977	...	...	...
Thana Bhawara	...	5.007	5.008	4.992	...	...	...

The average number of persons in each family in the city of Moorshedabad is less than the corresponding results in the Mofussil thanas of the respective districts, and one cause of this will be found in the fact that the number of traders, shop-keepers, and day-laborers who resort to Moorshedabad from the surrounding or more distant districts without their families is great. There are also three classes of women who have no families, and who are found in considerable numbers within the limits of the city jurisdiction, viz., public women; aged women, who reside on the banks of the Bhagarathi on account of the holiness which its waters confer; and widows. The number of widows is alleged to be greater in the city than in the country, in consequence of the greater prevalence of epidemic diseases which are believed by the natives to be more fatal to the male than to the female sex. All these causes, affecting both the male and female population, combine to increase the number of families consisting of one or two individuals, and consequently to lessen the general average of persons in each family in the city. The five Mofussil thanas differ very little from each other,—the lowest average being less than a quarter of a unit below, and the highest less than a half above five persons in each family which may, therefore, be deemed the mean rate. The difference between the Hindu and Musalman



averages is small, and is sometimes in favour of the Hindu and sometimes of the Mohammadan division of the population. The difference is greatest in the Jehanabad thana, where it is more than half a unit in favour of the Hindus. The Santal and Dhangar averages in the Beerbhoom district are high compared with the Hindu and Musalman averages of the same district, which may be accounted for by the more peaceable habits of the former classes and the stronger disposition of relations to live together. The number of Native Christian families is so small that no conclusion can be founded on the results exhibited.

*Fourth.*—The proportion of Hindus to Musalmans and others, in the different localities is subjoined—

In the city of Moorshedabad	there are	100 Hindus	to 48·4 Musalmans, &c.
In thana Daulatbazar,	"	"	to 86·8 "
In thana Nanglia,	"	"	to 20·5 "
In thana Culna,	"	"	to 23·9 "
In thana Jehanabad,	"	"	to 17·2 "
In thana Bhawara,	"	"	to 9·9 "

These proportions must be considered as strictly limited to the localities mentioned, without extending them to the districts to which the respective thanas belong, because the proportions differ not only in different districts, but in different thanas of the same district. The variety of results shows the necessity of a more complete and general census; and the only positive conclusion possessing any value is that which respects the city of Moorshe-  
dabad because it embraces an entire and separate jurisdiction. Within that jurisdiction the proportion is as two Hindus to nearly one Musalman, while in the Daulatbazar thana of the Moorshe-  
dabad district the proportion of Musalmans is greater.

*Fifth.*—The following are the proportions of males to females in the different localities:—

		Proportion of males of all ages to females of all ages is as 100 to	Proportion of males above 14 to females of the same age is as 100 to	Proportion of males be- tween 14 and five to fe- males of the same age is as 100 to	Proportion of males below five to females of the same age is as 100 to
City of Moorshedabad	..	99·6	109·5	58·2	88·4
Thana Daulatbazar	..	96·5	111·3	53·3	93·3
" Nanglia	..	97·5	110·9	62·7	96·8
" Culna	..	94·5	107·9	60·3	80·4
" Jehanabad	..	83·5	92·3	59·4	78·02
" Bhawara	..	83·0	91·2	60·2	82·8

The first remark which occurs here respects the obvious difference in the first and second columns between the proportions of the Bengal and those of the Behar thanas. I am wholly unable to offer any explanation of the difference. The second remark is the great excess of males between 14 and five above females of the same age both in the Bengal and Behar districts, as exhibited in the third column. This may, with some probability, be accounted for by supposing that, from doubt or suspicion of the object of the inquiry, the number of females of that age was often purposely diminished either by actual suppression or by transfer to the preceding column which, in the Bengal districts especially, contains an excessive proportion of females above 14. I am not, however, perfectly satisfied with this explanation, for the uniformity of the effect in all the districts as well as in the city of Moorshedabad seems to require a cause of more uniform operation than mere doubt or suspicion.

*Sixth.*—The proportion of the numbers above 14 and below five, *i. e.*, of those who have not yet attained the age of school instruction, and who have passed beyond it, to the number between 14 and 5, *i. e.*, of those who are of the teachable age, is subjoined—

In the city of Moorshedabad there are	100 above 14 and below 5	to 13·7 between 14 and 5.
In thana Daulatbazar,	"	to 20·2
In thana Nanglia,	"	to 23·8
In thana Culna,	"	to 18·4
In thana Jehanabad,	"	to 23·6
In thana Bhawara,	"	to 25·6

If we could be sure of an approximation to truth in these results, the advantage of it would be that we should possess the means of comparing the ascertained amount of instruction with the ascertained number of those who are of an age to receive it, and of proportioning the supply to the wants of society without allowing excess in one place or deficiency in another.

*Seventh.*—I have not attempted to estimate the number of inhabitants to the square mile, because I had not the means of ascertaining the superficial extent of the localities in which a census of the population was taken.

## SECTION XV.

### DOMESTIC INSTRUCTION.

The subject of domestic instruction was noticed in the Second Report, to which reference should be made.

*City of Moorshedabad.*—The number of families in which domestic instruction is given is 216, of which 147 are Hindu and 69 are Musalman families. The number of children receiving domestic instruction is 300, of whom 195 are Hindu and 105 are Musalman children.

*Thana Daulatbazar.*—The number of families in which domestic instruction is given is 254, of which 201 are Hindu and 53 are Musalman families. The number of children receiving domestic instruction is 326, of whom 265 are Hindu and 61 are Musalman children.

*Thana Nanglia.*—The number of families in which domestic instruction is given is 207, of which 197 are Hindu and 10 are Musalman families. The number of children receiving domestic instruction is 285, of whom 267 are Hindu and 18 are Musalman children.

*Thana Culya.*—The number of families in which domestic instruction is given is 475, of which 414 are Hindu and 61 are Musalman families. The number of children receiving domestic instruction is 676, of whom 595 are Hindu and 81 are Musalman children.

*Thana Jehanabad.*—The number of families in which domestic instruction is given is 360, of which 295 are Hindu and 65 are Musalman families. The number of children receiving domestic instruction is 539, of whom 435 are Hindu and 104 are Musalman children.

*Thana Bhawara.*—The number of families in which domestic instruction is given is 235, of which 223 are Hindu and 12 are Musalman families. The number of children receiving domestic instruction is 288, of whom 275 are Hindu and 13 are Musalman children.

## SECTION XVI.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE STATE OF DOMESTIC INSTRUCTION, INCLUDING A VIEW OF THE AMOUNT AND PROPORTION OF INSTRUCTION AMONGST THE ENTIRE JUVENILE POPULATION OF THE TEACHABLE AGE.

*First.*—When I was in the Rajshahi district I ascertained the number of families only in which domestic instruction was given to the children, without noting the number of children in each such family. In the localities subsequently visited, this omission, it will have been seen from the preceding section, was supplied, and the average number of children receiving domestic instruction in each family is subjoined—

City of Moorshedabad	...	...	1388
Thana Daulatbazar	...	...	1279
" Nanglia	...	...	1375
" Culya	...	...	1423
" Jehanabad	...	...	1219
" Bhawara	...	...	1225

I estimated the Rajshahi average at  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , which is in excess of all these averages subsequently ascertained, from which it may be inferred that the number of children receiving domestic instruction in that district was probably over-estimated.

*Second.*—The *limited extent of domestic instruction* will appear from a comparison of the number of families, Hindu and Musalman, in which it is, with the number in which it is not, given—

	Hindu families.			Musalman families.		
	Total number.	Giving domestic instruction.	Not giving domestic instruction.	Total number.	Giving domestic instruction.	Not giving domestic instruction.
City of Moorshedabad ..	24,094	147	23,947	10,647	69	10,578
Thana Daulatbazar ..	7,058	201	6,857	5,774	53	5,721
„ Nanglia ..	7,597	197	7,400	612	10	602
„ Culna ..	19,047	414	18,633	4,287	61	4,226
„ Jehanabad..	12,540	295	12,254	2,404	65	4,339
„ Bhawara ..	11,946	223	11,723	1,197	12	1,185

*Third.*—A comparison of the number of children receiving domestic instruction with the number capable from age of receiving it will furnish still more precise data—

	Total number of children between 14 and five years of age, i. e., capable of receiving domestic instruction.	Number of children receiving domestic instruction.	Number of children not receiving domestic instruction.
City of Moorshedabad ..	15,092	300	14,792
Thana Daulatbazar ..	10,428	326	10,102
„ Nanglia ..	8,929	285	8,644
„ Culna ..	18,176	670	17,500
„ Jehanabad ..	15,595	539	15,056
„ Bhawara ..	13,409	288	13,121

*Fourth.*—One other step is necessary to arrive at a definite conclusion respecting the *number and proportion of the instructed and uninstructed juvenile population*, viz., by adding together the number of children receiving domestic and school instruction, and deducting the aggregate from the total number of children of the teachable age. The number of children given below as receiving school instruction include those who in the city of Moorsshedabad and in the thanas specially mentioned receive instruction whether in Bengali, Hindi, Persian, English, orphans or girls' schools, and exclude the students in Sanscrit and Arabic schools as being generally above 14 years of age and belonging to the adult population. The students of the Nizam College in the city of Moorsshedabad are also considered as belonging to the adult population:—

	Total number of children between 14 and five years of age.	Number of children receiving school instruction.	Number of children receiving domestic instruction.	Total number of children receiving domestic and school instruction.	Children receiving neither domestic nor school instruction.	Proportion of children capable of receiving to children actually receiving instruction as is 100 to
City of Moorsshedabad ..	15,092	959	300	1,259	13,833	8·3
Thana Daulatbazar ..	10,428	305	326	631	9,797	6·05
„ Nanglia ..	8,929	439	285	724	8,205	8·1
„ Culna ..	12,176	2,243	676	2,919	15,257	16·05
„ Jehanabad..	15,595	366	539	905	14,690	5·8
„ Bhawara ..	13,409	60	288	348	13,061	2·5

The last column of the preceding table expresses, as far as mere number and proportion can express, the sum and substance of this report. It shows that, in the Culna thana of the Burdwan district, where the amount of instruction is greater than in any other of the localities mentioned, of every 100 children of the teachable age, 16 only receive any kind or degree of instruction, while the remaining 84 are destitute of all kinds and all degrees of it; and that, in the Bhawara thana of the Tirhoot district, where the amount of instruction is less than in any other of the localities mentioned, of every 100 children of the teachable age, 2½ only receive any kind or degree of instruction, while the remaining 97½ are destitute of all kinds and all degrees of it. The Intermediate

proportions are those of thana Jehanabad in South Behar and thana Daulatbazar in the Moorshedabad district where there are about six children in every 100 who receive some instruction, leaving 94 wholly uneducated; and those of thana Nanglia in the Beerbhoom district and the city of Moorshedabad in which there are about eight children in every 100 who receive some instruction, leaving 92 wholly uneducated. While ignorance is so extensive, can it be a matter of wonder that poverty is extreme, that industry languishes, that crime prevails, and that in the adoption of measures of public policy, however salutary and ameliorating their tendency, Government cannot reckon with confidence on the moral support of an intelligent and instructed community? Is it possible that a benevolent, a wise, a just Government can allow this state of things any longer to continue?

*Fifth.*—It has been already shown that the schools for girls are exclusively of European origin; and I made it an object to ascertain in those localities in which a census of the population was taken whether the absence of public means of native origin for the instruction of girls was to any extent compensated by domestic instruction. The result is that, in thanas Nanglia, Culna, Jehanabad, and Bhawara, domestic instruction was not in any one instance shared by the girls of those families in which the boys enjoyed its benefits, and that in the city of Moorshedabad and in thana Daulatbazar of the Moorshedabad district I found only five and those Musalman families, in which the daughters received some instruction at home. In one of these instances a girl about seven years of age was taught by a Kath Molla the formal reading of the Koran; in another instance two girls, about eight and ten years of age, were taught Persian by their father, a Pathan, whose object in instructing his daughters was stated to be to procure a respectable alliance for them; and in the three remaining families four girls were taught mere reading and writing. This is another feature in the degraded condition of native society. The whole of the juvenile female population, with exceptions so few that they can scarcely be estimated, are growing up without a single ray of instruction to dawn upon their minds.

*Sixth.*—In the account given of school instruction it has been shown, with considerable minuteness, to what classes of society, in respect of religion and caste, the children belong; but in the account of domestic instruction the only distinction drawn

is between Hindus and Musalmans. The following are the results at one view :—

	Families.			Children.		
	Hindu.	Musalman.	Total.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Total.
City of Moorshedabad ...	147	69	216	195	105	300
Thana Daulatbazar ...	201	53	254	265	61	326
" Nanglia ...	197	10	207	267	18	285
" Cull ...	414	61	475	595	81	676
" Jehanabad ...	295	65	360	435	104	539
" Bhawara ...	223	12	235	275	13	288

The account given in the Second Report of the classes of Hindu society to which those families belong that give domestic instruction to the children is, I believe, in general correct, viz., zemindars and talookdars, shop-keepers and traders, gomashas and mandals, pandits and priests; but I have been led to conclude that the pandits or learned brahmans constitute a much larger proportion than any other class and probably than all the other classes put together. Few of them send their children to Bengali or Hindi schools where accounts are the chief subject of instruction. Most content themselves with giving their children a knowledge of mere reading and writing at home which is the sole qualification to enable them to begin the study of Sanscrit.

*Seventh.*—With regard to the subject matter of domestic instruction, the mere reading and writing of the vernacular language is all that is taught in the families of brahman pandits, but in other Hindu families I have found Persian taught. Thus in three families belonging to one village I found three boys who had completed their Bengali education, receiving under the domestic roof instruction in Persian. In another village, of five children who were receiving domestic instruction one was learning Persian and four Bengali. Again, seven boys in one village who were receiving domestic instruction were the sons of Kath Mollas, and were merely taught the formal reading of the Koran; while four Musalman children in another village were taught Bengali reading and writing. There can be no doubt that the instruction given at home is in general more crude and imperfect, more interrupted and desultory, than that which is obtained in the common schools.

## SECTION XVII.

### ADULT INSTRUCTION.

The state of school-instruction and of domestic instruction shows the nature and amount of the means employed to instruct

the juvenile population. The state of adult instruction will contribute to show the effect which is produced by these means on the general condition of society. The general condition of society in respect of instruction may be estimated by the kinds and degrees of instruction existing in society and by the number of persons possessing each kind and degree. The following results have been obtained in attempting to form this estimate:—

*City of Moorshedabad.*

In this city the number of adults who have received a learned education, and are engaged in the business of teaching, is 33, of whom 24 are Hindus and nine are Musalmans.

The number of adults who have received a learned education, and who are not engaged in the business of teaching, is 75, of whom 58 are Hindus and 17 are Musalmans.

The number of adults who have not received a learned education, and who are engaged in the business of teaching with attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing, is 60, of whom 42 are Hindu teachers of Bengali and Hindi schools, two are Hindu teachers of English in the Nizam College, 15 are Musalman teachers of Persian schools, and one is a Musalman teacher of a Bengali school.

The number of adults who have neither received a learned education, nor are engaged in the business of teaching, but who possess attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing, is 4,767, of whom 4,079 are Hindus and 688 are Musalmans. Of the Hindus, 3,082, in addition to a knowledge of reading and writing, are acquainted with Bengali accounts, 592 with Hindi accounts, 342 with Bengali accounts and Persian, 55 with Bengali accounts and English, and eight with Bengali accounts, Persian, and English. Of the Musalmans, 192, in addition to a knowledge of reading and writing, are acquainted with Bengali accounts 88 with Persian, 399 with Bengali accounts and Persian, and ~~one~~ with Bengali accounts, Persian and English.

There are five Native Christians who, besides a colloquial knowledge of the native vernacular languages, have some knowledge of English reading, writing and accounts.

The number of adults who can merely read and write is 1,700, of whom 1,555 are Hindus and 145 are Musalmans. One of the Hindus is a woman.

The number of adults who can merely decipher writing or sign their names is 715, of whom 660 are Hindus including two women, 53 are Musalmans including three women, and two are Native Christian women.



*District of Moorshedabad.*

In thana Daulatbazar of this district there are no adults who have received a learned education, and are engaged in the business of teaching.

The number of adults who have received a learned education, and who are not engaged in the business of teaching, is 13, who are all Hindus.

The number of adults who have not received a learned education, and who are engaged in the business of teaching with attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing, is 25, of whom 23 are Hindu teachers of Bengali schools and 2 are Musalman teachers of Persian schools.

The number of adults who have neither received a learned education, nor are engaged in the business of teaching, but who possess attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing, is 555, of whom 501 are Hindus and 54 are Musalmans.

The number of adults who can merely read and write is 614, of whom 553 are Hindus including one woman, and 61 are Musalmans.

The number of adults who can merely decipher writing or sign their names is 565, of whom 474 are Hindus and 91 are Musalmans.

*District of Bêerbhoom.*

In thana Nanglia of this district the number of adults who have received a learned education, and are engaged in the business of teaching, is two, who are Hindus.

The number of adults who have received a learned education, and are not engaged in the business of teaching, is 12, who are all Hindus.

The number of adults who have not received a learned education, and who are engaged in the business of teaching with attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing, is 34, of whom 30 are Hindu teachers of Bengali schools, 1 a Hindu teacher of a Persian school, and three are Musalman teachers of Persian schools.

The number of adults who have neither received a learned education, nor are engaged in the business of teaching, but who possess attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing, is 352, of whom 335 are Hindus, and 17 are Musalmans.

The number of adults who can merely read and write is 593, of whom 586 are Hindus and seven are Musalmans.

The number of adults who can merely decipher writing or sign their names is 620, of whom 601 are Hindus and 19 are Musalmans.

*District of Burdwan.*

In thana Culna of this district the number of adults who have received a learned education, and are engaged in the business of teaching, is 38, of whom 37 are Hindus and one is a Musalman.

The number of adults who have received a learned education, and who are not engaged in the business of teaching, is 99, of whom 80 are Hindus and 19 are Musalmans.

The number of adults who have not received a learned education, and who are engaged in the business of teaching with attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing, is 93, of whom 82 are Hindu teachers of 72 Bengali schools; 71 for boys and one for girls; nine are Musalman teachers of six Persian, two Bengali, and one English school; and two are Native Christian female teachers of a girls' school.

The number of adults who have neither received a learned education, nor are engaged in the business of teaching, but who possess attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing, are 2,424, of whom 2,271 are Hindus and 153 Musalmans.

The number of adults who can merely read and write, is 2,804, of whom 2,115 are Hindus and 189 are Musalmans.

The number of adults who can merely decipher writing or sign their names is 2,350, of whom 2,100 are Hindus and 244 Musalmans.

*District of South Behar.*

In thana Jehanabad of this district the number of adults who have received a learned education, and are engaged in the business of teaching, is six, of whom one is a Hindu and five are Musalmans.

The number of adults who have received a learned education, and who are not engaged in the business of teaching, is 23, of whom nine are Hindus and 10 are Musalmans.

The number of adults who have not received a learned education, and who are engaged in the business of teaching with attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing, is 53, of whom 26 are Hindu teachers of Magri schools and 27 are Musalman teachers of Persian schools.

The number of adults who have neither received a learned education, nor are engaged in the business of teaching, but who

possess attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing, is 992, of whom 727 are Hindus and 265 are Musalmans. Of the Hindus, 503, in addition to a knowledge of reading and writing, are acquainted with Hindi accounts, and 224 with Hindi accounts and Persian. Of the Musalmans, two, in addition to a knowledge of reading and writing, are acquainted with Hindi accounts, and 263 with Hindi accounts and Persian.

The number of adults, who can merely read and write, is 761, of whom 644 are Hindus and 117 Musalmans.

The number of adults, who can merely decipher writing or sign their names, is 1,004, of whom 927 are Hindus and 77 are Musalmans.

### *District of Tirhoot.*

In thana Bhawara of this district the number of adults who have received a learned education, and are engaged in the business of teaching, is seven, who are Hindus.

The number of adults who have received a learned education, and who are not engaged in the business of teaching, is 27, who are Hindus.

The number of adults who have not received a learned education, and who are engaged in the business of teaching with attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing, is six, of whom five are Hindus and one is a Musalman.

The number of adults who have neither received a learned education, nor are engaged in the business of teaching, but who possess attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing, is 425, of whom 409 are Hindus and 16 Musalmans. Of the Hindus 375, in addition to a knowledge of reading and writing, are acquainted with Hindi accounts, and 34 with Hindi accounts and Persian. Of the Musalmans, two in addition to a knowledge of reading and writing are acquainted with Hindi accounts, and 14 with Hindi accounts and Persian.

The number of adults, who can merely read and write, is 303 of whom 302 are Hindus and one is a Musalman.

The number of adults, who can merely decipher writing, or sign their names, is 265, of whom 262 are Hindus and three are Musalmans.

## SECTION XVIII.

### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE STATE OF ADULT INSTRUCTION.

*First.*—The proportion of the instructed to the uninstructed juvenile population has been shown, and it now remains to deduce

from the preceding details the proportion of the instructed to the uninstructed adult population—

	Total adult population.	Instructed adult population.	Uninstructed adult population.	Proportion of total adult population to instructed adult population is as 100 to
City of Moorshedabad ..	97,818	7,355	90,463	7.5
Thana Daulatbazar ...	42,837	1,772	41,065	4.1
„ Nanglia ...	30,410	1,613	28,797	5.3
„ Culna ...	81,045	7,308	73,737	9.01
„ Jehanabad ...	57,573	2,835	54,738	4.9
„ Bhawara ...	44,416	1,033	43,383	2.3

The total adult population is the population, male and female above 14 years of age, including the students both of Hindu and Mahomedan schools of learning as being generally above that age; and the instructed adult population is the total number of those who were ascertained to possess any kind or degree of instruction from the lowest grade to the highest attainments of learning. The result is a natural consequence of the degree of instruction found to exist amongst the juvenile population, and is confirmatory of the proportions given in p. 232. The Culna thana of the Burdwan district in which the highest proportion of juvenile instruction was found is that also in which the highest proportion of adult instruction is found, viz., about nine in every 100, leaving 91 of the adult population wholly uninstructed. The Bhawara thana of the Tirhoot district in which the lowest proportion of juvenile instruction was found is that also in which the lowest proportion of adult instruction is found, viz., two and three-tenths in every 100, leaving 97 and seven-tenths of the adult population wholly uninstructed. The intermediate proportions have also a correspondence, thana Jehanabad having a proportion of less than five, and thana Daulatbazar a proportion of more than four, in every 100 possessing some kind and degree of instruction, leaving about 95 in the former and 96 in the latter wholly uninstructed; while thana Nanglia has a proportion of five and three-tenths and the city of Moorshedabad a proportion of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in every 100 possessing some instruction, leaving 94 and seven-tenths in the former and 92 $\frac{1}{2}$  in the latter wholly uninstructed. Thus in the comparison of one locality with another of the state of adult

instruction is found to rise and fall with the state of juvenile instruction, and although this is what might have been anticipated on the most obvious grounds, yet the actual correspondence deserves to be distinctly indicated for the sake of the confirmation which it gives to the general accuracy of the numerous details and calculations by which the conclusion has been established.

Although this correspondence is shown to exist, so that in comparing one locality with another, the proportion of adult instruction rises or falls with the proportion of juvenile instruction, yet the proportions are by no means identical. Not only are the proportions not identical, but in comparing the proportion of juvenile instruction in one locality, with the proportion of adult instruction in the same locality, the former is found to be uniformly higher. Still further, the excess in the proportion of juvenile instruction above that of adult instruction is found much higher in the Bengal than in the Behar thanas. These results are explained and confirmed by the conclusion at which we arrived on independent grounds in the early part of this Report, viz., that within a comparatively recent period certain classes of the native population hitherto excluded by usage from vernacular instruction have begun to aspire to its advantages, and that this hitherto unobserved movement in native society has taken place to a greater extent in Bengal than in Behar. Such a movement must apparently have the effect which has been found actually to exist, that of increasing the proportion of juvenile instruction as compared with that of adult instruction and of increasing it in a higher ratio in Bengal than in Behar. The increase is not so great in the city of Moorshedabad as in the Bengal Mofussil thanas.

*Second.*—In speaking of the total amount of adult instruction very different *kinds and degrees of instruction* are included under that general term. The attainments of those, both Hindus and Musalmans, who have received a learned education, and who are engaged in the business of teaching, have been already described, and the character of the learned who do not teach does not materially differ except that in general their acquirements are inferior and their poverty greater. They are most frequently engaged in the duties of the priesthood, but I met with two Police Daroghas, one of whom had some pretensions to Hindu and the other to Mahomedan learning. The degree of instruction possessed by those who have not received a learned education, and who are engaged in the business of teaching with attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing, will be estimated from the account that has been given of the Bengali, Hindi, and Persian schools which they conduct. The next class composed of those who have neither received a learned education nor are engaged in the business of teaching, but who possess attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing, includes

various degrees of instruction, but it was not easy to discriminate between them, and no attempt to do so was made in the districts of Moorshedabad, Beerbhoom, and Burdwan. In the city of Moorshedabad and in the districts of South Behar and Tirhoot such an attempt was made, and the result appears in the account given of the state of adult instruction in that city and in the Jehanabad and Bhawara thanas of those districts. That result is that beyond mere reading and writing, the instruction of the middle classes of native society extends first and principally to Bengali or Hindi accounts, next and to a much less extent to the Persian language, and lastly in a very limited degree to the English language. I met with only one person belonging to this class who devoted any portion of his attention to the cultivation of literature. His name is Kaliprasad Mukhopadhyaya the sherishtadar of the, Magistrate of Beerbhoom. He is the author of a work in Bengali called *Rasik Ranjan*, describing the loves and adventures of Jaya and Jayanti. It is part in prose and part in verse, and contains about 380 pages. A copy is in my possession. The two remaining classes are sufficiently described by the designations already given to them as those who can merely read and write, and those who can merely decipher writing or sign their names. Nine women are found to belong to these two classes in the city of Moorshedabad and in thana Daulatbazar of the Moorshedabad district. In all the other localities of which a census was taken no adult females were found to possess even the lowest grade of instruction.

*Third.*—A knowledge of the number of instructed adults and of the nature and extent of the instruction they possess furnishes the means of estimating the amount of instrumentality existing in native society which, in a greater or less measure, may be made available for the improvement and extension of popular education. The following table has been constructed with a view to such an estimate:—

	Number of unlearned teachers with attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing	Number of scholars taught by the aforesaid teachers	Average number of scholars taught by each of the aforesaid teachers	Number of unlearned persons or teachers with attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing	Number of children receiving neither domestic nor school instruction, being of the teachable age	Average number of children receiving neither domestic nor school instruction, to each of the aforesaid unlearned persons or teachers.
City of Moorshedabad	60	959	15.9	4,767	13,813	2.9
Thana Daulatbazar	25	365	12.5	550	9,797	17.6
" Nungia	34	430	12.5	352	8,205	23.3
" Culna	93	2,243	21.7	2,424	15,257	6.3
" Jehanabad	53	366	6.9	302	14,699	14.8
" Bhawara	6	60	10.0	125	13,061	30.7

The first column exhibits the number of Bengali or Hindi and Persian teachers in the localities where a census of the population was taken; the second, the number of their scholars; and the third, the average number of scholars to each teacher. From these, it appears that the existing bodies of teachers in those localities are not sufficiently employed, and that the same number of teachers could instruct a much larger number of scholars. The highest average number of scholars to one teacher is in the Culna thana of the Burdwan district; and if the other averages were raised only as high, a large addition would be made to the instructed children of the teachable age without any other instrumentality than that which is now engaged in the business of teaching.

The fourth column contains the number of those adults who have neither received a learned education nor are engaged in the business of teaching but who possess attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing, constituting the most cultivated portion of the middle class of native society from which instruments must chiefly be drawn for the improvement of that class and of the classes below it. The fifth column exhibits from the table contained in page 110 the number of children of the teachable age, *i. e.*, between 4 and five years, who receive neither domestic nor school instruction, constituting the class which needs the instruction that the preceding class is qualified to bestow. The sixth column shows the average number of children of the teachable age without instruction to each of the instructed adults capable of but not actually engaged in teaching, showing that if the whole number of uninstructed children were distributed among the instructed adults for the purpose of being taught, the number of the latter, particularly in the city of Moorsshedabad and in the Culna thana of the Burdwan district, would be far more than sufficient to teach them all. This is on the supposition that the entire number of instructed adults could be spared from the other purposes of civil life to be employed solely in the business of teaching, but this supposition is as unnecessary as it is inadmissible, since especially in the two localities mentioned it is obvious that there would be a large surplus of instrumentality for the object required. The only locality of those enumerated in which there would apparently be no such surplus is the Bhawara thana of the Tirhoot district where the number of instructed adults would, in the present state of things, even if they did nothing else, be barely sufficient to teach the children who are destitute of instruction.

According to these views the teachers of common schools, and those who in native society possess analogous qualifications, are the classes from which instruments must chiefly be drawn to promote general education, but these classes in their present state

must not be deemed to represent the permanent amount of intellectual and moral instrumentality. For, first, the influences now acting upon native society have a tendency to raise the qualifications of those two classes. The very lowest and most degraded and hitherto wholly uninstructed classes have begun, as has been shown, to move upward into the class receiving the instruction of common schools. This will have the double effect of stimulating the class immediately above them to rise still higher in the scale of acquirement, and with the increased demand for instruction of increasing the emoluments of teachers, and thereby inducing more competent persons to engage in the business of teaching. Even, therefore, if the number of teachers and taught, instructed and uninstructed, should maintain the same proportions, still there will be an increased amount of moral means in the higher range of qualifications which those classes are now acquiring.

But, second, by the very supposition, the same influences that are carrying the instructed classes forward in the race of improvement will also increase the number of the individuals composing them and their proportion to the uninstructed classes. This conclusion does not rest upon questionable grounds. It has been shown that the proportion of juvenile instruction is uniformly higher and in some of the localities much higher than the proportion of adult instruction, and it follows that, when the present generation of learners shall become of mature age, the proportion of adult instruction will be found much higher and consequently the amount of moral instrumentality existing in society greater than it now is. Every individual who passes from the class of the uninstructed to that of the instructed both lessens the proportion of the former and increases that of the latter—both lessens the number to be instructed and increases the number of those who may be employed for the instruction of that lesser number. And the probabilities are great that a large number both of those who belong to the instructed class and of those who pass from the inferior to the higher grades of instruction would, with very little encouragement, be induced to engage in the instruction of others, for in proceeding from one district or from one part of a district to another, next to the general poverty and ignorance, few facts strike the mind more forcibly than the number of those who, with attainments superior to a mere knowledge of reading and writing, are in search of employment and without any regular means of subsistence.

Again, third, it is not only from below, from the uninstructed classes or from those who possess at present the inferior grades of instruction but from above also, from the classes of the learned, that additional instruments will be obtained for the extension of popular education. There can be no doubt that the habits



and prejudices of the learned make them, if not hostile, certainly indifferent, in most instances, to the spread of education among the body of the people, but with gentle and prudent handling those habits and prejudices may be easily modified. I have met with individuals among the learned who, from benevolent motives, appeared anxious to do every thing in their power to promote the instruction of their countrymen, and with numerous individuals who evidently wanted no other motive than their own interest to make them willing agents in the same undertaking. These individuals were found in that class of the learned which is engaged in the business of teaching; and those of the learned who do not teach are in general so poor that I can have little doubt most of them would readily co-operate in any measures in which their assistance should be made advantageous to themselves. We have no right to expect that men in the gripe of poverty will appreciate the advantages to society and to Government which dictate to us the duty of promoting general education. They must perceive and feel that their own individual interests are promoted, and then their aid will not be withheld.

## SECTION XIX.

### THE STATE OF CRIME VIEWED IN CONNECTION WITH THE STATE OF INSTRUCTION.

The state of crime viewed in connection with the state of instruction is a subject of great interest, but it is one on which all the means necessary to form a sound judgment have not yet been obtained. The records of crime have not been framed with a view to derive from them *data* to determine the effects of instruction, and what I attempt under this head is rather to point to the importance of this branch of the inquiry than to found conclusions on the facts which I have collected, although at the same time it will be seen that the conclusions which those facts suggest and support are not unimportant. I have been favoured with permission to examine the half-yearly returns made to Government in the Judicial Department relating to crime in the localities of which an educational survey has been made, and from that source I subjoin the following abstract statement of crimes ascertained by the Police Officers or otherwise to have been committed within the city and district of Moorsheadabad, and the districts of Beerbhoom,

Burdwan, South Behar, and Tirhoot in the six years beginning with 1829 and ending with 1834:—

		City and District of Moorsheadabad.	District of Beerbhoom.	District of Burdwan.	District of South Behar.	District of Tirhoot.
Dacoity or Gang Robbery not on the highway.	With murder	12	8	4	2	...
	With torture	1	1	2	5	...
	With wounding	40	15	9	9	2
	Unattended with aggravated circumstances	95	74	24	17	...
	Attempting to commit	40	10	10	1	...
	On the river	2	...	...	...	...
Highway Robbery.	With murder	...	3	...	10	3
	With wounding	...	1	1	7	9
	Attempting to commit	...	...	...	...	...
	Exceeding 50 Rupees	...	2	1	4	...
	Exceeding 10 Rupees	1	3	...	12	2
	Under 10 Rupees	...	2	...	11	2
Burglary.	With murder	1	...	...	2	3
	With wounding	...	3	2	8	6
	Exceeding 50 Rupees	83	78	43	143	250
	Exceeding 10 Rupees	97	181	54	329	425
	Under 10 Rupees	135	276	51	1,211	1,186
	Without theft or attempting to commit	151	119	80	502	2,526
Cattle Stealing.	With theft, value unknown	...	...	...	...	102
	With murder	...	...	...	...	...
	With wounding	...	1	...	1	1
	Exceeding 50 Rupees	4	7	2	33	30
	Exceeding 10 Rupees	20	67	16	513	488
	Under 10 Rupees	39	140	30	438	501
Theft.	Value unknown and precluded from investigation under Reg. II. of 1862	...	...	...	...	18
	With murder including the murder of children	...	6	5	5	3
	With wounding	...	...	2	6	13
	Exceeding 50 Rupees	80	42	27	159	162
	Exceeding 10 Rupees	110	132	57	356	430
	Under 10 Rupees	32	102	88	431	1,326
Affrays.	Value unknown and precluded from investigation under Reg. II. of 1832	...	...	...	...	262
	With loss of life	3	4	1	16	16
	With wounding or violent beating	5	5	1	56	22
	Simple	4	11	1	34	56

	City and District of Moorshedabad.	District of Beer- bhoom.	District of Burd- wan.	District of South Behar.	District of Tir- hoot.
Child stealing .. ..		3			
Wilful murder ... ..	37	24	23	43	21
Homicide .. .. .	3	9	9	19	38
Assaults ... .. .	51	127	3	13	217
Wounding ... .. .					17
Arson with affray .. .					1
Arson without affray ..	5	3	1	7	9
Receiving stolen goods .	2	2	1	9	1
Kidnapping ... .. .					1
Rape ... .. .		3		3	1
Adultery ... .. .				1	4
Perjury ... .. .	4	2	3	17	11
Forgery ... .. .	1	2		13	6
Embezzlement ... ..					3
Extortion ... .. .				2	1
Bribery ... .. .					1
Miscellaneous .. .. .	93	694	28	214	675

The official returns are made twice every year, embracing the periods from January to June and from July to December, and the above table is merely an abstract of the returns for the six years 1829-34. I at first intended to include a period of ten years in the table, but I found, on examination, that the returns for the two years preceding 1829 were imperfect, and those for the two years following 1834 were framed on a different model, both circumstances preventing that strict comparison which I was desirous of making, and I therefore limited my attention to the six years for which the returns were complete and nearly uniform.

The relation of crime and instruction to each other may be ascertained by classifying all persons convicted of the same crime according to the kind and amount of instruction they have received. The returns of crime would thus exhibit whether the criminals were entirely destitute of instruction; whether they could barely decipher writing or sign their names; whether they could merely read and write; whether they possessed attainments superior to mere reading and writing, including, moral as well as intellectual instruction; whether they had received a learned education; and in each case whether it was a first or a second conviction; and what was the age and sex of the convict. It is only such returns that can enable us to judge satisfactorily of the effect of the different kinds and degrees of instruction upon the increase, diminution, or modification of crime, and of the consequent obligation on this ground imposed on the governing authority in a State to

give to its subjects any particular kind or degree of instruction or to withhold it altogether. Such returns are received by the Government of France from its judicial officers, and it is worthy of the consideration of the British Indian Government whether with the above object the returns of crime in this country should be made to include the information which I have indicated.

In the absence of this detailed information we must look at crime and criminals collectively; not at the amount and degree of restraining influences imposed by education on the individual, but at the number of criminals in the mass and the different kinds of crime of which they have been convicted as compared with the amount or proportion of instruction previously ascertained to exist in society within the same local limits. The preceding abstract statement of crimes committed in five different districts during a period of six years affords the means of making this comparison which is attempted in the following table:—

	Population.	Proportion of population above 14 to population below 14.	Estimated population above 14.	Aggregate number of crimes in 1829-34.	Centesimal proportion of crime to population above 14.	Centesimal proportion of instruction to population above 14.
City and District of Moorshedabad ...	939,447	65 to 35	630,141	1,160	184	5·8
District of Beerbhoom ...	1,267,067	48 to 52	608,191	2,162	355	5·3
" of Burdwah ...	1,187,540	57 to 43	676,920	579	85	9·01
" of South Behar	1,340,610	59 to 41	790,939	4,662	589	4·9
" of Tirhoot ..	1,697,700	52 to 48	882,804	8,836	10009	2·3

The statement of the population of the four last mentioned districts is derived from Mr. Shakespear's Police Report of 1824 to which I have had an opportunity of referring in the Judicial Department, and that of the city and district of Moorshedabad is the result of a census made by Mr. Hathorn in 1829. The proportion of the population above 14 years of age to the population below that age has been calculated from the population returns contained in Section XIII. of this Report, and the estimate of the population above 14 is founded on the proportion ascertained by actual census to prevail in one entire thana of each district, and now assumed to prevail in all the thanas of the same district for the purpose of obtaining an approximation to the total adult population. It was necessary to obtain this approximation, first, because the aggregate number of crimes can be correctly compared, not with the total population of the district,

but with the population which by reason of age may be assumed to be capable of committing crime; and, second, because the proportion of instruction possessed by the population above 14 can be correctly compared only with the proportion of crime committed by the population of the same age. The conclusion to which this comparison or rather contrast conducts is most curious and interesting, and is the more so to me because it is wholly unexpected. It will be seen from the table that, in the district of Burdwan, where the proportion of instruction is highest, there the proportion of crime is lowest; and in the district of Tirhoot where the proportion of instruction is lowest there the proportion of crime is highest. The intermediate proportions have the same correspondence. In South Behar, where instruction is double in amount of what it is in Tirhoot, crime is only one-half of what it is in the same district. In Beerbhoom the proportion of instruction is a little higher than in South Behar, and the proportion of crime a little lower; and in the city and district of Moorshedabad where instruction rises still a little higher, there crime falls to a still lower proportion. I have said that this conclusion was unexpected, for although I had no doubt of the general salutary effect of education, yet I saw little in the native institutions and in the systems of native instruction from which to infer that they exercised a very decided moral influence on the community, and I therefore did not anticipate that the state of education would have any observable or striking relation to the state of crime. It is impossible, however, to resist the conclusion from the preceding data that the relation is most intimate, and that even the native systems of instruction, however crude, imperfect, and desultory, most materially contribute to diminish the number of offences against the laws and to maintain the peace and good order of society.

If we pass from the consideration of crime in the aggregate to the particular crimes enumerated in the table at pp. 245 and 246, other inferences will be suggested illustrating the relation of instruction to crime, although the conclusions to be drawn are not very definite in consequence of the form in which the returns have been made, crimes against the person and crimes against property not being in all cases distinguished. Taking, however, the returns as they stand, we find that in Tirhoot, where instruction is lowest, dacoity or gang robbery was almost wholly unknown during the six years in question, and that it prevailed in an increasing degree in South Behar, Burdwan, Beerbhoom, and Moorshedabad in the order in which those districts are now mentioned. Thus, therefore, the description of crime ordinarily attended with the greatest violence to the person is apparently neither promoted by ignorance nor checked by education. Highway robbery prevailed during the period under consideration more in South Behar than in any of the other districts; but it is when we look at the

records of burglary, cattle-stealing, theft, and affrays that we perceive the excess of crime in the less instructed districts of Behar as compared with the better instructed districts of Bengal. Cases of homicide, assault, and wounding, are also much in excess in the Tirhoot district. Forgery deserves special attention. This is a description of crime which with much seeming probability has been usually supposed to be facilitated and increased by education; but we find that, in the three Bengal districts during a period of six years, there were only three convictions for forgery, while in the two Behar districts during the same period not fewer than nineteen occurred. The comparative prevalence of forgery in the less instructed, and of gang robbery in the more instructed districts shows the necessity of more extended and precise investigation into the connection between instruction and crime.

I have not attempted to show the increase or diminution of crime from year to year in the different localities, because that would have no relation to the state of instruction unless it could also be shown that education had advanced or retrograded during the same periods and in the same localities for which no data at present exist. The future inquirer into the statistics of education in this country will derive some aid in this branch of his investigation from the results recorded in this Report.

## SECTION XX.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The preceding Sections embrace all the most important information I have collected respecting the state of education, omitting many details which might have embarrassed the attention of the reader and lessened the distinctness of his impressions. For the same reason I abstain at present from entering on the results of a census of castes and occupations which was included in the census of the population, on the state of native medical practice, in the extent to which the most remarkable diseases prevail, and on the peculiar institutions and practices of the respective districts—all illustrative of the physical, moral, and intellectual condition of the people, but only indirectly connected with the amount and means of general instruction.

The information now placed upon record in this and the preceding Report may be summed up, in a very few words. By means of a census of the population, the amount of domestic and adult instruction has been ascertained in the city of Moorshedabad and in one thana or police sub-division of the districts of Rajshahi, Moorshedabad, Beerbhoom, Burdwan, South Behar, and Tirhoot respectively; and by means of educational survey, the state of

school instruction has been ascertained in the City of Moorshedabad in one thana or police sub-division of the districts of Rajshahi and Moorshedabad in the entire districts of Beerbhoom, Burdwan, South Behar, and Tirhoot, and, with the aid of Mr. Malot, in the entire district of Midnapore.

In so extensive a country, inhabited by so numerous a population, it would have been impossible, without far more ample means than were placed at my command, to extend the inquiry over the whole without exception, and to exhaust the subject, so as to leave nothing unexamined and unknown. The investigation therefore, with the distinct contemplation of this impossibility, has been conducted on the principle of learning something with precision and certainty; of causing the information thus acquired to embrace such an extent of space, such an amount of population, and such a diversity of conditions and circumstances as would afford the grounds of legitimate inference; and consequently of inferring from the known the unknown, from what is certain that which is doubtful. Accordingly from the state of domestic and adult instruction ascertained in one large city and in one thana of each district, I infer the same or a similar state of domestic and adult instruction in all the thanas of the same districts. The population of which an actual census has been taken to afford the basis of such an inference is 692,270, and the additional population to which the inference is made to extend is 7,332,500, together amounting to 8,124,770. In like manner, from the state of school instruction ascertained in one large city, in two thanas of two different districts, and in five entire districts, I infer the same or a similar state of school instruction in all the remaining districts of Bengal and Behar. The population of which an educational survey has been made to afford the basis of such an inference is 7,789,152, and the estimated additional population to which the inference is made to extend is 27,671,250 together amounting to 35,460,402. There is no reason to suppose that the state of domestic and adult instruction differs materially in the thanas in which that branch of the inquiry was carried on from its state in those to which it was not extended; nor is there any reason to suppose that the state of school instruction differs materially in the districts in which it was investigated from its state in those which the investigation did not embrace. There is probably no district in Bengal and Behar in which the amount and proportion of juvenile and adult instruction are so high as in Burdwan or so low as in Tirhoot, and we may thus assume without much danger of error that we have ascertained both the highest and the lowest existing standard of instruction in those two provinces. Actually the state of instruction of nearly eight millions of its subject is before the Government with a degree of minuteness which, even if it should fatigue, may give some assurance of an approach to accuracy, and exhibiting an amount of ignorance which demands

the adoption of practical measures for its diminution. Virtually, the state of instruction of more than thirty-five millions of its subjects is before Government, that portion of the Indian population which has lived longest under British rule, and which should be prepared or preparing to appreciate and enjoy its highest privileges. I trust that the expence which Government has incurred in collecting this information will not be in vain, and that the hopes which have grown up in the minds of the people in the progress of the inquiry will not be disappointed.

## CHAPTER SECOND.

### CONSIDERATION OF THE MEANS ADAPTED TO THE IMPROVEMENT AND EXTENSION OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN BENGAL AND BEHAR.

THE instructions which I have received from the General Committee of Public Instruction stated that the inquiry which I have now completed was instituted "with a view to ulterior measures;" and I was expressly directed to report on "the possibility and means of raising the character and enlarging the usefulness of any single institution or of a whole class." In conformity with these views and instructions, in the Second Report, besides reporting on the state of education in the Nattore thana of the Rajshahi district, I brought to the special notice of the Committee the condition of the English school at Rampoor Bauleah in the Bauleah thana, and of the Mahomedan College at Kusbeh Bagha in the Bilmariya thana; but I abstained from recommending any plans or measures for the improvement of whole classes of institutions until I should possess greater leisure and opportunities of more extended observation and experience. I however expressed the opinion that, as far as my information then enabled me to judge, *existing native institutions from the highest to the lowest, of all kinds and classes, were the fittest means to be employed for raising and improving the character of the people—that to employ those institutions for such a purpose would be "the simplest, the safest, the most popular, the most economical, and the most effectual plan for giving that stimulus to the native mind which it needs on the subject of education, and for eliciting the exertions of the natives themselves for their own improvement, without which all other means must be unavailing."* Subsequent consideration has confirmed me in this view; and, after noticing other plans which have been suggested or adopted, I shall proceed to illustrate it in detail and to explain the means that may be employed in order to carry it into effect.

## SECTION I.

### PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS.

The object of this Section is to notice the most feasible of those plans for the promotion of general education which appear to



me on consideration to be unsuited to the circumstances of this country and to the character of the people.

The first step to a sound judgment on the whole of this subject is to consider what features should characterize a plan likely to be attended with success. It will probably be admitted that any scheme for the promotion of public instruction should be *simple in its details* and thereby easy of execution; *cheap* and thereby capable of extensive or general application; *not alarming to the prejudices* of the people but calculated on the contrary to create and elicit good feelings towards their rulers; *not tending to supersede or repress self-exertion*, but rather to stimulate and encourage it, and at the same time *giving Government the lead* in the adoption and direction of measures for the future moulding and development of the native character, native society, and native institutions.

The simplest form in which Government influence could be employed for this object is that of mere recommendation, and in conversing with natives on the means of infusing fresh vigour into their institutions of education, they have sometimes expressed the opinion that a mere intimation of the pleasure of Government and of the satisfaction with which it regards such efforts, would be sufficient to cause schools to spring up and revive in all directions. This opinion was most probably meant in a sense very different from that conveyed by the terms in which it was expressed. The object of Government in adopting such a course would be to avoid interfering or dictating in a matter like education which may be deemed to belong to domestic and social regulation; but the adoption of such a course would be, and would be understood to be, the very interference and dictation which it is sought to avoid. The people in general are unable to appreciate such a procedure on the part of Government. They would neither understand the language employed nor the motives that dictate it. They would either suppose that there is some secret intention to entrap them into disobedience, or giving full credence to the assurance that no authority is to be employed to enforce the recommendation, it would be neglected. In either case Government and the people would be placed in a false relative position.

The people of this country in their present condition cannot understand any other language than that of command proceeding from Government. They do not perceive the possibility of their standing in any other relation to their rulers than in that which requires obedience. I had frequent illustrations of this in my own experience during the progress of my inquiries. Before seeing me, the mere announcement of my expected arrival was sufficient to inspire awe into the minds of the inhabitants of a village, and a simple request that they would give me such and such information respecting their village was not regarded as a request, with which

they might or might not comply according to their own sense of importance of the object, but usually as an order which it would be folly and madness to thwart or resist. They admitted the importance and utility of the object when it was explained to them, but it was not because of its importance and utility that they gave the information required, but because submission to authority is the confirmed habit of the people. Appearing among them instructed and authorized by Government to inquire into the state of native education they could regard me in no other light than as one whom it would be illegal to disobey. In such circumstances all that could be done was to make my request and direct my agents to seek for information after a full explanation afforded in the least offensive manner in order that the people might do heartily what they would otherwise have for the most part done coldly and slavishly. The unauthoritative modes of address thus adopted led on several occasions to an inquiry in return from them whether I was acting only on my private authority or was really empowered by Government to conduct such an investigation. I of course assured them that I was fully authorized as the *perwanahs* addressed by the Magistrate to his *Darogahs* and others showed, but that I had been expressly directed, in deference to their feelings and to avoid the possibility of offence, to collect only such information as they themselves might, after proper explanations, voluntarily furnish. The adoption of such a style of address by a Government functionary was apparently new to them, and scarcely intelligible.

The truth appears to be that they are so completely bowed down by ages of foreign rule that they have lost not only the capacity and the desire, but the very idea, of self-government in matters regarding which the authority of the state is directly or indirectly interposed. They have no conception of government as the mere organ of law and its sanctions. They view it simply as an instrument of power whose behests are absolute, indisputable, and wholly independent of the voluntary co-operation of the individual members of the community. We have thus a Government which desires to rule by law, and a people that wills to be ruled by power. Mere power unsupported by the moral co-operation of the community is weaker than law would be with that co-operation but to call the latter forth must be one of the objects and effects of education by embodying with native public opinion the conviction that the interest of the state and its subjects are the same. It follows that, in devising means to produce that conviction, we must not assume that it already exists, and that the people will, at the mere recommendation of government, understood as such, adopt measures even for their own advantage, or that they will understand a recommendation from such a source in any other way than as a command.

The chief exception to the general submissiveness to every person or thing bearing the form or semblance of public authority regards the subject of *religion* in which they do not discover the slightest disposition to recognize the right of Government to interfere. On the contrary, joined to an exemplary tolerance of differences in creed and practice, there is a jealousy of any appearance of such authoritative interference. I had frequent occasions to remove from the minds of the learned and religious classes the fears they entertained on this point; and I have reason to believe that the occasional instances of opposition or distrust that occurred to me in which no opportunity of explanation was afforded originated from the same cause.

The next form in which Government influence may be conceived to be employed for the promotion of education is by making it *compulsory*, and enacting that every village should have a school. I hope the time will come when every village shall have a school, but the period has not yet arrived when this obligation can be enforced. Such a law, direct and intelligible, would be preferable to a mere recommendation which might be understood in a double sense, but it would be premature. It would be ordering the people to do what they are too poor and too ignorant to do willingly or well, if at all. It would be neither to follow nor to lead but to run counter to native public opinion. Those who in respect of caste or wealth constitute the higher classes do not need any such coercive means to induce them to instruct their children. Those who in respect of caste may be called the middle classes are convinced of the advantages of education, but they are in general poor and many of them would feel such a measure to be severe and oppressive. The lower classes consisting both of Hindus and Musalmans and of numerous subdivisions and varieties of caste and occupation greatly exceed the others in number, and they are for the most part by general consent consigned to ignorance. In many villages they are the sole, in others the most numerous inhabitants, and such a compulsory law as I have supposed would be received with universal astonishment and dismay—with dismay by themselves and with astoishment if not derision by the superior classes. A national system of education will necessarily have chiefly in view the most numerous classes of the population, but in their present state of moral and social preparation we can approach them only by slow and almost imperceptible steps. We can effectually raise them only by aiding their voluntary efforts to rise; and at present the prejudice against their instruction is nearly as strong and as general in their own minds as in the minds of others. In the preceding pages I have shown that it has begun to give way in Bengal and Behar; and in the records of the General Committee of Public Instruction I find an apt illustration both of the existence of the prejudice in the North-Western

Provinces and of the fact that there also it has begun to lose ground. Mr. S. M. Boulderson, in an account of the schools in the Bareilly Collectorship, dated 29th January 1827, which he communicated to the Committee, makes the following statement:—"A strange instance of narrow-mindedness occurs in the report of the Huzzoor Tehsil Paishkar from whom the above detail is taken. He observe (and the Canoongoes have also signed the paper) that, under the former Governments, none but 'Ashraf,' viz., Brahmans, Rajpoots, Bukkals, Kaits, and Khutrees among the Hindus; and Sheikhs, Syeds, Moghuls, and Pathans of the Mahomedans, were permitted to study the sciences or even to learn the Persian language; but that now all sects are learning Persian, Arabic, and Sanscrit. They, therefore, suggest the abolition of some schools where the children (of) Ahus, Guddees, &c., are instructed." The strength and prevalence of the prejudice which could dictate such a suggestion will be understood when it is borne in mind that the native officers from whom it proceeded had been employed by Mr. Boulderson to collect information respecting the state of the schools in his district with the, no doubt, avowed purpose of encouraging education. The feeling however against the instruction of the lower classes, although general, is not universal; and the above statements shows that, although strong, it is not overpowering. In any plan, therefore, that may be adopted what should be kept in view is to recognize no principle of exclusion, to keep the door open by which all classes may enter, and to abstain from enforcing what their poverty makes them unable and their prejudices unwilling generally, to perform.

Without employing recommendations or enactments that would be either futile or vexatious, another mode of applying the Public resources for the advancement of education might be by the establishment of new schools under the superintendence of paid agents of Government, who should introduce improve systems of instruction as models for the imitation and guidance of the general body of native teachers. It was with this view that the Chinsurah schools were patronized and the Ajmere schools established by Government, and it is on the same general plan, although with ulterior views to conversion, that most Missionary Schools are also conducted. This plan contains a sound and valuable principle inasmuch as it contemplates the practicability and importance of influencing the native community generally by improving native teachers and native systems of instruction; but the mode in which this principle is applied is liable to objection on various grounds.

The first ground of objection is that it has the direct effect of producing hostility amongst the class of native teachers, the very men through whom it is hoped to give extension to the

improved system of instruction adopted. Every such Government or Missionary school, when established, displaces one or more native schools of the same class and throws out of employment one or more native teachers. If it has not this immediate effect, their fears at least are excited, and ill-will is equally produced. It is too much to expect that those from whom we take, or threaten to take, their means of livelihood should co-operate with us or look with a favourable eye on the improvements we wish to introduce. It appears from the records of the General Committee of Public Instruction, from which I derived the statements on this subject, that this was to some extent the effect produced by the Government Chinsurah schools; and in my recent journeys I have witnessed the dissensions that have arisen in villages by the rivalry of Bengali schools in which gratuitous instruction was given by paid agents of benevolent Christian societies with Bengali schools of native origin from which the teachers obtained their subsistence in forms of fees and perquisites. Instruction rightly communicated should produce peace and good-will; and we may be sure there is something wrong when the effect of employing means to extend education is perceived to be hate and contention leading even to breaches of the public peace.

Another point of view in which the plan may be deemed objectionable is that, to whatever extent it may succeed, it will practically take the management of education out of the hands of the people and place it in the hands of the Government superintendents. On such a plan school-houses are built, teachers appointed and paid, books and stationery supplied, instructions and superintendence given, all at the expense of Government; and without any demand upon parents for exertion, or sacrifice or any room being left for their interference or control, their children have merely to attend and receive gratuitous instruction. It does not appear that this is the way to produce a healthy state of feeling on the subject of education in the native community. If Government does every thing for the people, the people will not very soon learn to do much for themselves. They will remain much longer in a state of pupillage, than if they were encouraged to put forth their own energies. Such a course is the more objectionable because it is the substitution of a bad for a good habit, almost all the common or vernacular education received throughout the country being at present paid for. Government should do nothing to supersede the exertions of the people for their own benefit, but should rather endeavour to supply what is deficient in the native systems, to improve what is imperfect, and to extend to all what is at present confined to a few. Again, a general scheme of new schools under public control and direction would entail on Government all the details of

management, expenditure, instruction, discipline, correspondence, &c.; and this superintendence would either be adequate or inadequate to the purpose. If inadequate, the schools would be inefficient and would serve other ends than those of public instruction. If adequate, the expense alone would be a valid objection to the plan. The previous table exhibits the total number of children between 14 and five years of age in five thanas of five different districts, and the average number of such children in each thana is 13,307. The highest average number of scholars taught by each teacher, is not quite 25. Suppose each teacher was required previously to teach double that number, not less than 266 teachers will be required to instruct the children of the teachable age in one thana. Five rupees per month must be considered the very lowest rate of allowance for which, under an improved system, the services of a native teacher may be engaged; and this very low rate would require an expenditure of 1,330 rupees per month, or 15,960 rupees per annum for the teachers of one thana. Besides teachers, school-houses must be built and kept in repair, and books and stationery provided. At least one superintendent or inspector would also be required for such a number of schools, teachers, and scholars; and this apparatus and expenditure would, after all, furnish only the humblest grades of instruction to the teachable population of one thana. The number of thanas in a district varies from nine or ten to sixteen or seventeen, and sometimes extends even to a larger number; and the number of districts in the Bengal Presidency alone amounts to about sixty-six, with a constant tendency to increase by sub-division. On the plan proposed all the expenses of all these teachers, schools, and superintendents in every thana of every district must be defrayed by Government. When the subject of national education shall receive the serious consideration of Government, I do not anticipate that its appropriations will be made with a niggard hand, but the plan now considered involves an expenditure too large, and promises benefits too inconsiderable and too much qualified by attendant evils, to permit its adoption.

Instead of beginning with schools for the lower grades of native society, a system of Government institutions may be advocated that shall provide, in the first place, for the higher classes on the principle that the tendency of knowledge is to descend, not to ascend; and that, with this view, we should at present seek to establish a school at the head-station of every zillah, afterwards pergunnah schools, and last of all village schools, gradually acquiring in the process more numerous and better qualified instruments for the diffusion of education. The primary objection to this plan is that it overlooks entire systems of native educational institutions, Hindu and Mohammadan, which existed long before our rule, and which continue to exist under our rule, independent of us and of our projects, forming and moulding the native character

in successive generations. In the face of this palpable fact, the plan assumes that the country is to be indebted to us for schools, teachers, books—every thing necessary to its moral and intellectual improvement, and that in the prosecution of our views we are to reject all the aids which the ancient institutions of the country and the actual attainments of the people afford towards their advancement. We have to deal in this country principally with Hindus and Mohammadans, the former one of the earliest civilized nations of the earth, the latter in some of the brightest periods of their history distinguished promoters of science; and both, even in their present retrograde stages of civilization, still preserving a profound love and veneration for learning nourished by those very institutions of which I have spoken, and which it would be equally improvident on our part and offensive to them to neglect.

Again, if the maxim that the tendency of knowledge is to descend, not to ascend, requires us to have first zillah, next pergunnah, and then village, schools, it follows that we ought not to have even zillah schools till we have provincial colleges, nor the latter till we have national universities, nor these till we have a cosmopolitan one. But this is an application of the maxim foreign to its spirit. Improvement begins with the individual and extends to the mass, and the individuals who give the stimulus to the mass are doubtless generally found in the upper, that is, the thinking, class of society which, especially in this country, is not composed exclusively, nor even principally, of those who are the highest in rank, or who possess the greatest wealth. The truth of the maxim does not require that the measures adopted should have reference first to large and then to small localities in progressive descent. On the contrary, the efficiency of every successive higher grade of institution, cannot be secured except by drawing instructed pupils from the next lower grade which, consequently by the necessity of the case, demands prior attention. Children should not go to college to learn the alphabet. To make the superstructure lofty and firm, the foundations should be broad and deep; and, thus building from the foundation, all classes of institutions and every grade of instruction may be combined with harmonious and salutary effect.

## SECTION II.

### PLAN PROPOSED AND ITS APPLICATION TO THE IMPROVEMENT AND EXTENSION OF VERNACULAR INSTRUCTION.

The objections that apply to the plans brought under review in the preceding Section should at least make me diffident in proposing any other for adoption. The considerations I have suggested show that the subject has been viewed, in various

aspects, and in what follows I shall endeavour impartially to point out the difficulties, as well as the advantages, of the measure which, on the whole, I venture to recommend.

The leading idea, that of employing existing native institutions as the instruments of national education, has been already suggested; and if their adaptation to this purpose had not been so much overlooked, it would have seemed surprising that they were not the very first means adopted for its promotion. Their importance, however, has been recognized, at least in words, by some of those who have been most distinguished for their intimate practical acquaintance with the details of Indian administration. Of these, I may cite here, on account of the comprehensive although cursory view it presents of the subject, the opinion expressed by Mr. Secretary Dowdeswell in his report of September 22nd 1809, on the general state of the Police of Bengal, contained in Appendix No. 12 to the Fifth Report on East India affairs. At the close of his report Mr. Dowdeswell says—"I have now stated all the measures which suggest themselves to my mind for the improvement of the Police, without entering into minute details, or deviating into a course which might be thought foreign to the subject. I am satisfied that if those measures be adopted they will be attended with considerable benefit in the suppression of the crimes most injurious to the peace and happiness of society,—an opinion which I express with the greatest confidence, as it is founded on practical experience of the system now recommended so far as the existing regulations would permit. I am, at the same time, sensible that a great deal more must be done in order to eradicate the seeds of those crimes,—the real source of the evil lies in the corrupt morals of the people. Under these circumstances, the best laws can only have a partial operation. *If we would apply a lasting remedy to the evil, we must adopt means of instruction for the different classes of the community, by which they may be restrained, not only from the commission of public crimes, but also from acts of immorality by a dread of the punishments denounced both in this world and in a future state by their respective religious opinions.* The task would not, perhaps, be so difficult as it may at first sight appear to be. *Some remains of the old system of Hindu discipline still exist. The institutions of Mohammadanism of that description are still better known. Both might be revived and gradually moulded into a regular system of instruction for both those great classes of the community;* but I pretend not to have formed any digested plan of that nature, and at all events it would be foreign, as above noticed, to the immediate object of my present report." It does not appear what institutions Mr. Dowdeswell meant to describe, and confessedly his views were general and not very defined. A closer attention will show that Hinduism and Mohammadanism have certain institutions



peculiar to them as systems of religious faith and practice, and certain other institutions peculiar to the people professing those systems, but forming no part of their religious faith and practice. To attempt to interfere with the former would be equally inconsistent with the principles and character of a Christian government, and opposed to the rights and feelings of a Hindu and Mohammadan people. But to revive the latter, and gradually to mould them "into a regular system of instruction for both those great classes of the community," is the dictate both of sound wisdom and of the most obvious policy.

The question arises in what manner native institutions may be most effectually employed, with a view to the gradual formation of a regular system of instruction for the benefit of all classes of the community; and the answer which, after mature consideration, I am disposed to give is by proposing *the establishment of public and periodical examinations of the teachers and scholars of those institutions and the distribution of rewards to the teachers proportioned to their own qualifications and the attainments of their scholars*,—the examinations to be conducted, and the rewards bestowed, by officers appointed by Government and placed under the authority and control of the General Committee of Public Instruction. This plan appears adapted to the character of the people and to the present condition of native society. Mr. Wyse in his recent work entitled *Education Reform*, Vol. I. p. 48, remarking on those dispositions which, in some manner, form the public character, the moral physiognomy, of nations, says—*"This peculiar public character, formed of the aggregate of private, again acts in a very striking manner upon the character of the individual. But this action is still further affected by the changes of the times. A period of total quiet, resulting from a long continued acquiescence in old institutions, leaves a very different imprint upon the national mind from that which is the necessary consequence of a general breaking up of old principles and forms, and an earnest search after new. In the first instance, an education of stimulants becomes necessary, it is essential to the healthy activity of the body politic; in the second, steadiness, love of order, mutual toleration, the sacrifice of private resentments and factious interests to general good, should be the great lessons of national education."* At no period in the history of a nation can lessons of steadiness, love of order, mutual toleration, and the sacrifice of private to public good be deemed inappropriate; but if any where an education of stimulants is necessary to the healthy activity of the body politic, it is here where a long continued acquiescence in old institutions, and a long continued subjection to absolute forms and principles of government have produced and continue to perpetuate a universal torpor of the national mind. This education of stimulants I propose to supply on the basis of native institutions, and by means of a system of public and periodical

examinations and rewards; and I hope to show, in conformity with the characteristics that have been sketched of a scheme likely to be attended with success, that, while the plan will present incitements to self-exertion for the purpose of self-improvement, it will be equally simple in its details and economical in expenditure, tending to draw forth the kindly affections of the people towards the Government, and to put into the hands of the Government large powers for the good of the people.

The first proposed application of the plan is to the improvement and extension of vernacular education; and to the importance of this branch of public instruction testimony has been at different times borne by the highest authorities in the State. Of these, I shall quote two only in this place. Lord Moira in his Minute on the Judicial Administration of the Presidency of Fort William, dated the 2nd October 1815, after mentioning certain evils in the administration of the Government and in the character of the people, goes on to say—"In looking for a remedy to these evils, the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives will necessarily form a prominent feature of any plan which may arise from the above suggestions, and I have, therefore, not failed to turn my most solicitous attention to the important object of public education. *The humble but valuable class of village school-masters claims the first place in this discussion.* These men teach the first rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic for a trifling stipend which is within reach of any man's means, and the instruction which they are capable of imparting suffices for the village zemindar, the village accountant, and the village shop-keeper. As the public money would be ill-appropriated in merely providing gratuitous access to that quantum of education which is already attainable, *any intervention of Government, either by superintendence or by contribution, should be directed to the improvement of existing tuition and to the diffusion of it to places and persons now out of its reach.* Improvement and diffusion may go hand in hand; yet the latter is to be considered matter of calculation, while the former should be deemed positively incumbent." Twenty-two years have elapsed since these wise and benevolent views were expressed by one of the ablest and most distinguished rulers that British India has possessed, and no adequate means have yet been employed to discharge a duty declared to be positively incumbent by introducing improvement into the existing system of tuition practised by the humble but valuable class of village school-masters, and to extend the improved instruction to persons and places which the old system does not reach. We appear to have even retrograded, for not only has vernacular instruction been overshadowed and lost sight of by the almost exclusive patronage bestowed on a foreign medium of instruction, the English language, but even some of the principal efforts to improve the village schools and school-masters have, with

or without reason, been abandoned. It was, I believe, under Lord Moira's government that the Ajmere native sohools were established and the Chinsurah native schools patronized by Government, but both have proved signal failures, and Government support has been withdrawn from them; the grand mistake being that new schools were formed subject to all the objections that have been described in another place, instead of the old schools and school-masters of the country that enjoyed, and still enjoy, the confidence of the people, being employed as the instruments of the desired improvements. The only other attempt known to me on this side of India to improve the system of vernacular instruction on a considerable scale unconnected with religion was that made by the Calcutta School Society, which received the special approbation of the Court of Directors. In 1825, in confirming the grant of 500 rupees per month which had been made to this Society by the Local Government, the Court made the following remarks:—"The Calcutta School Society appears to combine with its arrangements for giving elementary instruction, an arrangement of still greater importance for educating teachers for the indigenous schools. *This last object we deem worthy of great encouragement, since it is upon the character of the indigenous schools that the education of the great mass of the population must ultimately depend.* By training up, therefore, a class of teachers, you provide for the eventual extension of improved education to a portion of the natives of India far exceeding that which any elementary instruction that could be immediately bestowed would have any chance of reaching." The plan of the Calcutta School Society so highly approved was that of stimulating teachers and scholars by public examinations and rewards, and although it was very limited in its application, and very imperfect in its details, the effects upon the state of vernacular instruction in Calcutta were for a time highly beneficial. Yet the plan has been relinquished, the Society has ceased to exist, and the donation of Government, confirmed by the Court of Directors on the grounds above stated continues to be drawn by the nominal secretary and is now applied to the support of an English school and to the gratuitous education of thirty students of the Hindu College. It is evident, therefore, that in proposing to lay the foundations of national education by improving and extending the system of vernacular instruction, and to improve and extend that system, not by forming new and independent schools, but by employing the agency of the long-established institutions of the country, I am proposing nothing new. It is necessary only that we should retrace our steps, and, taught by past experience, start again from the position we occupied twenty years ago. In 1815 Lord Moira saw the necessity, either by superintendence or by contribution, of improving and diffusing the existing tuition afforded by village school-masters; and in 1825 the Court of Directors, by deeds as well as by words,

pronounced that upon the character of the indigenous schools the education of the great mass of the population must ultimately depend. These sentiments and opinions are worthy of the highest authorities in the government of a great empire, and they are confirmed by the whole history of civilization. It is deeply to be regretted that they have hitherto produced no fruit in this country ; and it is earnestly to be hoped that the time has now arrived to give them a practical, a systematic, and a general application.

Assuming the importance of vernacular instruction as the very foundation-stone of a sound and salutary system of national education, and assuming also that the old and established village schools and school-masters, if they can be rendered available and qualified, present the most appropriate instruments for gaining a ready access to the people and a trustful acceptance of the improvements which we are desirous of introducing and diffusing, it remains for me to show with what preliminary arrangements, in what manner, and to what extent, I would propose to employ their agency.

The first step to be taken is *the selection of one or more districts* in which Government shall authorize the plan to be tried. It is desirable that the experiment should be made simultaneously in several districts, for the purpose of comparing the results obtained under different circumstances. The attempt may succeed in one district and fail in another, the failure arising from local and temporary, and the success from permanent and general, causes ; and if the experiment was made only in one district, it might be one in which local and temporary causes are in operation leading to failure, and thus undeserved discredit might be entailed upon the whole scheme. The number of districts usually included in a division subject to a Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit would probably afford a just criterion.

Having fixed upon the districts in which a trial is to be given to the plan, the next step will be to *institute an educational survey of each district*, or a survey of all the institutions of education actually found in it to determine the amount of juvenile instruction, and a census of the population of each district, to determine the amount of domestic and adult instruction. With a view to the completeness of the results, I would recommend that the census of the population should not be limited to one thana in each district, but should be co-extensive with the survey of the schools. This would undoubtedly entail much additional trouble and some additional expense, but it is by such means that the interests of humanity, the interests of a future as well as of the present age, are promoted. I have shown in the preceding chapter how such investigations have been, and may be, conducted economically, and, I hope and believe, efficiently and inoffensively ; and

as a means of throwing a strong light upon the moral and intellectual condition of native society, I trust they will be continued, *pari passu*, with every attempt to extend vernacular instruction. If the suggestions offered, or to be offered, in this report possess any value, it is derived from these inquiries conducted under the authority of Government, without which a whole life's residence in India would not have given me the insight conviction I now possess of the unparalleled degradation of the native population; and the large and unemployed resources existing in the country applicable to the improvement of their condition and character; and it is only by the unwearied prosecution of such inquiries, and by the detailed publication of their results, that this conviction can be wrought out of the minds of the actual observers into the minds of the community at large, and especially into the minds of those members of the community who wield the powers and direct the measures of Government. I long entertained an opinion of the importance of such inquiries before I had undertaken, or had any prospect of undertaking, such a duty in person. In 1829 or 1830, at the request of Lord William Bentinck, I sent him a Memorandum on the subject of education, in which I pointed out an educational survey of the country as an indispensable preliminary to every other measure, and four years afterwards the adoption of the suggestion showed that the utility of such a course was appreciated by his Lordship's Government. Experience has confirmed the opinion I then expressed, and in perusing the Revenue and Judicial Selections during the past year, I have discovered with pleasure that the advantage of inquiries into the actual state of native education is still further supported by the high authority of that truly great and good man Sir Thomas Munro, the late Governor of Madras, and by that of the Court of Directors. The importance of this branch of the subject and the weight due to these authorities induce me to embody their views in full in this report from the Selections, Vol. III., page 588, omitting only the tabular form in which Sir Thomas Munro directed the information to be collected :—

EXTRACT FORT ST. GEORGE REVENUE CONSULTATIONS,

*Dated the 2nd July 1822.*

The President records the following Minute :—

MINUTE BY SIR THOMAS MUNRO.

“ Much has been written, both in England and in this country, about the ignorance of the people of India and the means of disseminating knowledge among them; but the opinions upon this subject are the mere conjectures of individuals, unsupported by any authentic documents, and differing so widely from each other as to be entitled to very little attention. Our power in this country, and the nature of its own municipal institutions, have

certainly rendered it practicable to collect materials from which a judgment might be formed of the state of the mental cultivation of the people. We have made geographical and agricultural surveys of our provinces; we have investigated their resources, and endeavoured to ascertain their population; but little or nothing has been done to learn the state of education. We have no record to show the actual state of education throughout the country. Partial inquiries have been made by individuals, but those have taken place at distant periods and on a small scale, and no inference can be drawn from them with regard to the country in general. There may be some difficulty in obtaining such a record as we want. Some districts will not, but others probably will, furnish it; and if we get it only from two or three it will answer, in some degree, for all the rest. It cannot be expected to be very accurate, but it will at least enable us to form an estimate of the state of instruction among the people. The only record which can furnish the information required is a list of the schools in which reading and writing are taught in each district, showing the number of scholars in each and the caste to which they belong. The Collectors should be directed to prepare this document according to the form which accompanies this paper. They should be desired to state the names of the books generally read at the schools; the time which scholars usually continue at such schools; the monthly or yearly charge to the scholars; and whether any of the schools are endowed by the public, and, if so, the nature and amount of the fund. Where there are colleges or other institutions for teaching theology, law, astronomy, &c., an account should be given of them. These sciences are usually taught privately, without fee or reward, by individuals, to a few scholars or disciples; but there are also some instances in which the native governments have granted allowances in money and land for the maintenance of the teachers.

“In some districts reading and writing are confined almost entirely to Brahmans and the mercantile class. In some they extend to other classes, and are pretty general among the potails of villages and principal ryots. To the women of Brahmans and of Hindus in general they are unknown, because the knowledge of them is prohibited and regarded as unbecoming the modesty of the sex and fit only for public dancers; but among the women of the Rajbundah and some other tribes of Hindus, who seem to have no prejudice of this kind, they are generally taught. The prohibition against women learning to read is probably, from various causes, much less attended to in some districts than in others, and it is possible that in every district a few females may be found in the reading schools. A column has been entered for them in the form proposed to be sent to the collector. The mixed and impure castes seldom learn to read; but as a few of them do, columns are left for them in the form.

"It is not my intention to recommend any interference whatever in the native schools. Every thing of this kind ought to be carefully avoided, and the people should be left to manage their schools in their own way. All that we ought to do is to facilitate the operations of these schools, by restoring any funds that may have been diverted from them, and perhaps granting additional ones where it may appear advisable; but on this point we shall be better able to judge, when we receive the information now proposed to be called for.

*The 25th June 1822.*

THOMAS MUNRO.\*

EXTRACT, REVENUE LETTER, TO FORT ST. GEORGE,

*Dated the 18th May 1825.*

"We think great credit is due to Sir Thomas Munro for having originated the idea of this inquiry: We shall be better able when we have seen specimens of the report to judge whether the prescribed inquiry is sufficient to bring forth all the useful information capable of being obtained. The proportion in which the great body of the people obtain the knowledge of reading and writing the degree to which the means of obtaining them are placed within their reach, the extent to which the branches of knowledge esteemed of a higher kind are objects of pursuit and the means of instruction in them are afforded, are the most important points, and these appear to be fully embraced. The most defective part of the information which will thus be elicited is likely to be that which relates to the quality of the instruction which the existing education affords; but of this we shall be able to form a more correct opinion when we see what the reports contain. It was proper to caution the collectors against exciting any fears in the people that their freedom of choice in matters of education would be interfered with, but it would be equally wrong to do any thing to fortify them in the absurd opinion that their own rude institutions of education are so perfect as not to admit of improvement."

The four volumes of Revenue and Judicial Selections which I have seen, and which are I believe all that have been published, do not contain any reference to the reports made in conformity with Sir Thomas Munro's instructions. The utility of the statistical inquiries recommended by that sagacious and experienced statesman, and so explicitly approved by the Honorable Court with a distinct view to the improvement to be introduced into the existing rude institutions of education, is still further increased when they are regarded as introductory and auxiliary to a general system of popular instruction. The information thus collected is highly valuable in itself and for its own sake, for the insight it affords and the inferences to which it leads respecting the interior structure and condition of native society; but the details it

supplies respecting the number and residence, the character, qualifications, and emoluments of the teachers, and the number, the payments, and the attainments of the scholars will come into constant requisition in the practical conduct of a system of popular instruction. Nor will the benefit to be derived stop here, for it is only by previously ascertaining the nature and amount of juvenile and adult instruction in a district or in a division that we can obtain a standard of comparison with the future condition of education in the same district or division after the experiment of a national system shall have been fully and fairly made.

A further measure indispensable to the working of the plan is the *preparation of a small series of useful school-books* in the language of the districts in which it is to be carried into effect. The entire subject of school-books in the native languages involves so many principles and details, both moral and literary, that to do justice to it would require a separate and full report. All that I shall attempt in this place is to indicate a few of the leading ideas connected with it that bear most directly upon my immediate object.

For the purposes of vernacular instruction in Bengal, school-books should be prepared in the Bengali language, and for the same purposes in Behar in the Hindi language. These two languages will bring the instruction within the reach of the whole Hindu population of those two provinces and also of the rural Musalman population. Hindi school-books will be occasionally required in Bengal, Bengali books never in Behar; and for a majority of the Musalman population in some of the principal cities and towns of both provinces, such as Calcutta, Moorshedabad, and Dacca, Patna, Behar, and Gya, school-books in Urdu or Hindusthani will probably be the most appropriate. For the purpose of giving a trial to a system of vernacular instruction in the few districts of a commissioner's division Bengali school-books only will be required, and a translation of them into English should be simultaneously printed and published in order that the members of the Government and the European community generally may know the nature and amount of the instruction proposed to be communicated.

The question what shall constitute the *subject-matter of school-books* under a national system of instruction is one on which a great diversity of opinion may be expected to prevail; and unless large and catholic views preside over their preparation, evil instead of good may be expected to result from the attempt. I deem it proper to introduce and fortify my opinions on this subject by those of others whose sentiments and reasonings are more likely to obtain general assent.

Lord Moira, in the Minute of 2nd October, 1815, from which I have already had occasion to quote, continuing to speak of the



native system of education, says—“The general, the sad defect of this education is that the inculcation of moral principle forms no part of it. This radical want is not imputable to us. The necessities of self-defence (for all our extensions of territory have been achieved in repelling efforts made for the subversion of our power) and our occupation in securing the new possessions have allowed us, till lately, but little leisure to examine deliberately the state of the population which we had been gradually bringing beneath our sway. It was already vitiated. The unceasing wars which had harassed all parts of India left every where their invariable effects, a disorganization of that frame-work of habit and opinion which enforces moral conduct and an emancipation of all those irregular impulses which revolt at its restraint. The village school-masters could not teach that in which they had themselves never been instructed, and universal debasement, of mind, the constant concomitant of subjugation to despotic rule, left no chance that an innate sense of equity should in those confined circles suggest the recommendation of principles not thought worthy of cultivation by the Government. The remedy for this is to furnish the village school-master with little manuals of religious sentiments and ethic maxims conveyed in such a shape as may be attractive to the scholars, taking care that, while awe and adoration of the Supreme Being are earnestly instilled, no jealousy be excited by pointing out any particular creed. The absence of such an objection and small pecuniary rewards for zeal occasionally administered by the magistrates would induce the school-masters to use those compilations readily.”

The Honourable Mounstuart Elphinstone in his report dated 25th October 1819, on the territories conquered from the Paishwa (Calcutta Edition, p. 74, re-printed in Revenue and Judicial Selections, Vol. IV., p. 187) after describing ‘the moral character of the people of the Deccan, has the following remarks:—“I do not perceive any thing that we can do to improve the morals of the people except by improving their education. There are already schools in all towns and in many villages, but reading is confined to Brahmans, Banyans, and such of the agricultural classes as have to do with accounts. I am not sure that our establishing free schools would alter this state of things, and it might create a suspicion of some concealed design on our part. It would be more practicable and more useful to give a direction to the reading of those who do learn, of which the press affords so easily the means. Books are scarce and the common ones probably ill-chosen, but there exist in the Hindu languages many tales and fables that would be generally read and that would circulate sound morals. There must be religious books tending more directly to the same end. If many of these were printed and distributed, cheaply or gratuitously, the effect would without doubt be great and beneficial. It would, however, be indispensable that they should

be purely Hindu. We might silently omit all precepts of questionable morality, but the slightest infusion of religious controversy would insure the failure of the design. It would be better to call the prejudices of the Hindus to our aid in reforming them, and to control their vices by the ties of religion which are stronger than those of law. By maintaining and purifying their present tenets, at the same time that we enlighten their understandings, we shall bring them nearer to that standard of perfection at which all concur in desiring that they should arrive; while any attack on their faith, if successful, might be expected in theory, as is found in practice, to shake their reverence for all religion and to set them free from those useful restraints which even a superstitious doctrine imposes on the passions." Mr. Pophinstone, when Governor of Bombay, reiterates the same sentiments in a Minute dated 6th April 1821 (Revenue and Judicial Selections, Vol. III., p. 695) on the Revenue and Survey of the Western Zillah north of the Myhee:—"In all discussions connected with the means of improving the situation of the people, our attention is drawn to the amendment of their education. This seems to be nearly in the same state here as in the Deccan. I should rather think there were more schools, but there are no books. The same plan I recommend in the Deccan may be adopted here, the circulation of cheap editions of such native books of those already popular as might have a tendency to improve the morals of the people without strengthening their religious prejudices. Passages remarkable for bigotry or false maxims of morality might be silently omitted, but not a syllable of attack on the religion of the country should be allowed."

The late Mr. Shore in his Notes on Indian Affairs, Vol. II., p. 1, asks—"Is a rational attempt to educate the people of this great country to be made? Or are they to be allowed to remain in their present state of ignorance? *i. e.*, as far as relates to the assistance of their English masters. Is one great impediment to the due administration of justice to be removed? Or is it still to remain to the discredit of the British system of legislation? These, I grieve to say, are the two real questions into which this subject may be resolved. What has been, and what ought to have been, the course pursued by the British rulers? Certainly it was their duty *first*, to have ordained that the language and character of the country should be that of the courts of justice; *secondly*, to have established schools, or at least to have encouraged those that already existed, for the education of the people in their own language and character; *thirdly*, to have promoted the translation of books of knowledge into the vernacular tongue; and *fourthly*, to have afforded all who had leisure or inclination the means of acquiring that language in which the most general information is concentrated, the English. What has been the course hitherto pursued? We have actually imitated the example of a nation

whom we affect to consider barbarians and centuries behind us in civilization, and have attempted to inflict a foreign language on a hundred millions of people! We have even gone beyond our model. On the first conquest of India by the Mohammedans, one party at least—the conquerors—understood the language of the courts of justice; but it has been the pleasure of the English to carry on business and administer justice in a language alike foreign to themselves and to their subjects.” In the same volume, pp. 464-465, Mr. Shore describes the works that he recommends to be translated into the vernacular language and character. They should not, he says, be confined to works of a religious nature, “but the selection should include books of instruction and even amusement. History, geography, elementary works on arts and sciences, would be extremely acceptable to the people.” He proposes also “to prohibit any direct attempts at conversion in the schools established by Government, nor should the study of religious works be compulsory as school-books. Such books should, however, be placed within their reach for all who chose to consult them.”

I will add only one other authority on this subject. Mr. B. H. Hodgson, Resident in Nepal, in the preface to his letters addressed to the Editor of the *Friend of India* on the pre-eminence of the vernaculars, p. 9, has the following remarks:—“In the most-enlightened parts of Europe the general opinion now is that schools for teachers have in the present century created a new era in the practical science of education. Why then is Government inattentive to so noble and successful an experiment? Especially since there is about this method of normal instruction, or teaching of teachers, just that sort of definiteness which may be compassed by limited public funds, with yet a concomitant prospect of great and diffusive benefits to the country from the adoption of the measure. But workmen must have tools; and good workmen, good tools; wherefore, to a nursery for the regular supply of competent vernacular school-masters, should be added one for the equally regular supply of sound books in the three prime vulgar tongues of our presidency, books embodying the substance only of our really useful knowledge, with stimuli and directions for the various sorts of mental exertion; so that in the result there might exist for the people at large the easy and obvious bridge of the vulgar tongue leading from exotic principles to local practices, from European theory to Indian experience.” In support of the principle of drawing on Indian experience, of borrowing the precepts, examples, and illustrations of Indian literature, to recommend to general attention the substance of a higher knowledge, moral and social, as well as physical, Mr. Hodgson urges the following considerations:—“The elemental laws of thought,—including a designation of the necessary boundaries of human inquiry and the best rules of investigation within those limits—the law of population, the philosophy of wealth, the general principles

of jurisprudence, of judicature, and of reformatory police! How are we to inculcate the elements of our knowledge upon these topics, which are at once infinitely more essential to the welfare of the people of India than mathematical and physical science, and infinitely more liable to the adverse influence of prejudice and prepossession? Physical science is almost unknown in India, and hence there will be little for us to undo: it stands almost wholly aloof from the turmoil of the passions and interests of men, and hence there will be little difficulty in removing obstructions to fair and patient attention. But the philosophy of life, however ill it is yet understood, has been an object of study in this land for 3,000 years—in all which the falsest interests, and the most turbulent passions, and the most fantastic opinions have contributed the warp, as nature and experience have the woof, to its net-work. To leave the woof as it is, and to supply a new warp from the schools of European wisdom—*hoc opus, hic labor est!* To attempt to remove both warp and woof were, I believe, to disorganize society, and to insure our own destruction in its disorganization! Here it is certainly that the countenance and support, real or seeming, of established maxims and examples is most needed and most readily to be had,—most needed, because of the prejudices and passions that are indissolubly bound up with the topics; most easily to be had, because of that universal consciousness and almost universal experience which necessarily supply the ultimate evidence of such topics. High-dated and literary as is the character of Indian civilization, it could not be that their literature should have failed to gather ample materials for the just illustration, in some way or other, of most, if not of all, parts of the philosophy of life, and with respect to the fact, you Sir, need not be told that it has not failed to gather them.”

The following appears to be the substance of the views expressed by these authorities. The vernacular school-books prepared and issued under the authority of Government should embrace religious instruction as far as it can be communicated without engaging in religious controversy or exciting religious prejudice, without inculcating the peculiarities of any one religion or attacking those of another. Perhaps, the best way in which this might be effected would be, without employing any direct forms of religious inculcation, to cause the spirit of religion—its philanthropic principles and devotional feelings—to pervade the whole body of instruction on other subjects. On these other subjects, physical science, moral truths, and the arts and philosophy of civil and social life, the aim should be, not to translate European works into the words and idioms of the native languages, nor to adopt native works without the infusion of European knowledge, but so to combine the substance of European knowledge with native forms of thought and sentiment, and with the

precepts, examples, maxims, and illustrations of native literature as shall render the school-books both useful and attractive. For this purpose the union of European and Native agency would be necessary,—European agency aided by the best works that have been framed in Europe and America for the use of schools, and Native agency of a high order of qualification to command readily the resources and appliances of native learning.

Under the guidance of such general principles, and in the employment of such a united agency, a series of school-books in Bengali might be framed on the following plan :—

The *first* of the series might be made with advantage to include all that is at present taught in scattered and disjointed portions in the vernacular schools, systematically arranged and presented in the clearest, most comprehensive, and most perfect form in which it can be prepared. It would thus be a text-book for instruction in writing on the ground, on the palm-leaf, on the plantain or sal-leaf, and on paper; in reading both written and printed compositions; in accounts both commercial and agricultural as taught in the works of *Subhankar* and *Ugra Balaram*; in the correct and fluent composition of letters, petitions, grants, leases, bonds, and notes of hand according to the most popular and approved forms; in the elements of grammar and lexicology as taught in *Sabda Subanta*, *Ashta Sabdi*, *Ashta Dhatu*, and the vocabulary of *Amara Singh*; and finally, in the moral verses of *Chanakya*. This work would make the learners, whether teachers or scholars, thoroughly competent in the knowledge and use of the most improved forms of their own vernacular system of instruction before introducing them to any higher grades of knowledge; and the first trial in every district would thus also be disimbarassed of the prejudices which might be raised if any new and strange subjects of instruction were suddenly and generally presented to them. Those portions of the above-mentioned native school-books that are in Sanscrit should be translated into Bengali.

The *second* book of the series might explain the most important arts of life that contribute to comfort, improvement, and civilization, and might give elementary views of the sciences which have produced and must help to perfect them. Trade and the sub-divisions of manual labour; manufactures and the uses of machinery; and above all agriculture,—the most valuable products, the best modes and seasons of culture, the most useful implements and manures, the rotation of crops, draining, irrigation, large and small farms—all these are subjects which, in plain language and with appropriate local illustrations, might be brought home to the business and bosoms of nine-tenths of the people. The modes of applying agricultural capital are notoriously very rude and unproductive, and the quantity of land cultivated by the

ryot is generally so very small that the value of that portion of the produce which falls to him as wages or profits barely supports him and his family even in the most favourable seasons, and in times of scarcity leaves him without resource. With such a vast agricultural population, upon the proper application of whose labor the entire prosperity of the country and the Government depends, what duty can be more imperative than to instruct them in the best use of all the circumstances of their condition?

The *third* book of the series might be made explanatory of the moral and legal relations, obligations, and rights, whether personal, domestic, civil, or religious, of man, living in a state of society and under the existing Government. A reference should be maintained throughout to the peculiar circumstances, wants, and character of the people. Thus, the expenditure of the people is in general so profuse and ill-directed as to account for much of the wretchedness of their condition. Inculcate, therefore, a prudent economy, and show not only by precept, but by examples and illustrations drawn from savings banks, &c., the advantages of steady industry and small accumulations as contrasted with the tyranny on the one hand, the slavery on the other, and the general distrust between man and man, arising out of the established system of money-lending and borrowing at exorbitant rates of interest. Again, the produce of their labor is often diminished by the illegal exactions of money-lenders, landlords, settlers, and the native officers of Government, whether of justice, revenue, or police. Teach the people their civil rights, the disposition of Government to protect them in the enjoyment of those rights, and the modes in which they may be most effectually protected. Still further, law to be obeyed, the violations of law to be shunned, and the punishments attached to those violations to be feared, should be known. But its requisitions, its prohibitions, and its sanctions are unknown to the body of the people, and law is to them, for the most part, the arbitrary will of the judge. In the absence of other means to make the penal laws generally known, let this school-book explain their principal provisions for the protection of person and property, the equal subjection of all to their authority, and the obligation and utility of contributing each person to the defence and security of every other subject of the State.

The *fourth* book of the series might be employed to correct, enlarge, and systematize the knowledge of the learner respecting his native country, other countries, and the system of the world. If prepared for Bengali schools, it would explain the natural features and resources of Bengal, the political Government of British India, the physical and political geography of the other countries of the world, and the leading facts and principles of modern astronomy.

It is easy for me to sketch the principal topics of these works, and the series might be still further extended; but it would be a more difficult task to fill up the outline in such a manner that the whole would deserve the approbation of Government and be acceptable to the people. Their utility, however, would compensate for the labor, the time, and the expense bestowed, for a really good school-book is a powerful instrument of good to a country. By these and by similar works a small native standard library might be formed; and the most important ideas they contain might, by the means I am about to recommend, be gradually worked into, and embodied with, the earliest impressions and the permanent convictions of native society.

Having prepared and printed the first book of the series, the next step is to appoint a Government agent to each of the districts in which the plan is to be carried into effect. The duty to be assigned to him, as will afterwards more fully appear, is the examination of teachers and scholars, and with this view he should unite the acquirements both of a Native and English education. Without a good native education he could not, with credit and efficiency, act in the capacity of an examiner of native teachers and scholars; and an English education will be useful to conciliate the respect of his countrymen, to give him confidence in his own comparative attainments, and to enable him to receive and communicate to the people just views of the intentions of Government, and to the Government just views of the feelings and wishes of the people. In addition to these literary acquirements, an unimpeached character for steadiness, industry, and integrity is indispensable. Much will depend upon these examiners, and their appointment should be made with great care and discrimination. Those natives who have received an English education have in general too much neglected the ordinary branches of a Native education, and some difficulty may at first be experienced in obtaining competent persons; but a very little application on the part of the intelligent young men who have passed through the Hindoo College, the General Assembly's Institution, and other public schools, will supply the requisite qualification, and the difficulty will speedily disappear.

The examiner will proceed to the district to which he has been appointed with a recommendation from the Commissioner of the division to the Magistrate who will be instructed to aid him with counsel, influence, and co-operation, as far as they can be bestowed, without trenching on his individual responsibility, or the unfettered action of the people. It will not be inconsistent with these restrictions if the magistrate should publish throughout the district a simple declaration or explanation of the intentions of Government addressed to all generally, to none individually; and if as in South Bihar there is a District newspaper, the notice should receive all the publicity that can be given to it by that

means. The examiner, by the survey which has been already made of the district, is acquainted with the names, places of residence, and qualifications of all the school-masters in every thana, and by means of perwannahs, letters, and personal visits he will make known to them in still greater detail the intentions of Government, and the subsidiary arrangements by which he purposes to carry those intentions into effect.

The subsidiary arrangements will be variously modified by the circumstances of different districts and by the judgment and experience of different examiners. The object should be to bring the benefit as much as possible within the reach of the people with the least sacrifice on their part of time, labour, and money in travelling. For this purpose the examiner may fix on some central point of two or three contiguous thanas, at which he will invite all the school-masters of those thanas to meet him at a certain date. He will there explain to them verbally and at length, what he had before stated to the same persons in writing, that he had in charge from Government certain copies of a book, one of which he was prepared to give to any school-master, or to any person proposing to act as a school-master, who should, either by the written or verbal testimony of his neighbours, appear to be of respectable character, and who should engage to appear with it again at the same place six months thereafter; that the names, ages, castes, and places of residence of the receivers and those testifying to their character would be inscribed in a register; and that at the time and place appointed an examination of the receivers would be held, and rewards bestowed on those who should be found competent in the knowledge of its contents and in the capacity of explaining them.

The nature of the rewards to be bestowed will require much consideration. Money-rewards of three or six rupees to the teachers according to their proficiency might be promised, and the effect would no doubt be great and immediate, but I am inclined to recommend that in the first instance at least they should be withheld. If the plan can be made to work efficiently without money-rewards, the advantage in point of economy is obvious; and although that is a very inferior consideration with reference to a single district or division, the effect will be far from unimportant on a large scale by leaving in the hands of Government the means of giving general extension to the plan without weighing too heavily on the resources of the State. Another advantage will be in the greater simplicity of the plan without the suspicions, the wranglings, and the opportunities and imputations of corruption and compromise between the Government examiners and the native teachers that may arise out of money-payments. Still further, by dispensing with those payments, the teachers will be thrown entirely on their own qualifications and on the support of parents for success in their



profession; whereas in bestowing money-rewards it will be difficult, although not impossible, to ascertain the amount that will have the effect of stimulating the zeal of teachers without checking the exertions and sacrifices of parents. An additional consideration is this that if the other forms of reward and distinction I am about to suggest are found to be ineffectual, or effectual in too limited a degree, we may afterwards have recourse to money-rewards, but if we begin with the latter we cannot afterwards so easily discontinue them without abandoning the whole plan. We may ascend from weaker to stronger motives, not descend from stronger to weaker ones. It might be admissible, however, even from the first to give, according to the price of grain in the district one, two, or three annas per day to each approved teacher as travelling expenses and subsistence-money,—the amount of the former to be determined by the number of days' journey in coming from and returning to his home, and that of the latter by the number of days he remains in attendance on the examiner.

The first reward I would hold out to teachers is\* the gift of books. Each will receive a copy of the first book of the series already described with an engagement to return it in six months; and he will make it his own only by studying its contents, and undergoing a thorough and satisfactory examination on the subject which it treats. This examination will also entitle him to receive a copy of the second book of the series, at first on loan and for use only, but ultimately to become his own property in the same way. Still further the same examination will entitle him to receive three, six, or twelve copies of the first book of the series for the use of his scholars, to be accounted for in the manner hereafter described. That these books will be received not as mere compliments, but as substantial gifts equivalent to money, is probable, because the use and possession of them will both raise the qualifications of the teacher and afford him increased facilities for the instruction of his scholars in his own increased knowledge, for which he will naturally demand and receive increased compensation from their parents.

The next reward I would propose to hold out would be one tending to gratify the love of distinction, common to all and strong in them. The names and designations of those who have sustained the examination may be enrolled in a separate register, transmitted to the General Committee of Public Instruction, on the approval and recommendation of that body published in the official gazette, and on their appearance in the gazette proclaimed by the order of the magistrate throughout the district as the names and designations of persons constituting an approved class of native vernacular teachers. A written certificate may also be given to each, stating the extent of his qualifications and signed by the president and Secretary of the Committee of Instruction, or a

Sub-Committee appointed for that purpose, and by the examiner. These distinctions will have a practical value also by raising the approved teachers in the estimation of the native community, and thereby increasing their emoluments.

Other rewards to be bestowed according to the progressive qualifications of the teachers and scholars, such as eligibility to a course of instruction in the Normal School of the district, to a course of instruction in the English School of the District and ultimately to the possession of a permanent endowment, will be detailed hereafter.

Having with every necessary explanation and encouragement distributed books to all teachers of good character desirous of receiving them, the examiner will next proceed in the beginning of the following month to some central point of some two or three other thanas of the same district. There, according to previous invitations and arrangements, he will meet the native school-masters of those thanas, and will go over precisely the same ground with them as in the preceding instance. Thence he will proceed in the beginning of the next month to another set of thanas, so as to traverse the whole district in six months. If the district contains twelve or a smaller number of thanas, the arrangement may be made with one or two per month; if more than twelve and not more than eighteen, with two or three per month; and if more than eighteen, an arrangement adapted to the peculiarity of the case may easily be devised. In Moorshedabad, which contains in all thirty-seven thanas, it will be advisable to assign one examiner to the city and another to the district; and in like manner one to Calcutta and another to the 24-Pergunnahs. If the district is too large to be traversed by the examiner, with the requisite delays in six months; or if the book distributed is too large or too difficult to be mastered by the teachers in the same period, a twelve month may be allowed. No good will arise from prematurely urging to completion any part of the process. The plan must be allowed to work into the minds of the native community and to obtain gradually a firm place in their confidence.

I will now suppose that after the lapse of six or twelve months the examiner has returned to the point from which he set out, having in the previous month by a formal notice reminded the school-masters who had received books of their engagement to attend for examination. Distrust, indolence, sickness, death, will doubtless cause the absence of some. Others who do attend will be badly prepared for examination, and the best but indifferently. But under every discouragement the plan should be steadily and kindly prosecuted, the school-masters being treated as grown-up children, now needing reproof and now encouragement. The examiner will find that he has much to learn from them as to the best modes of giving effect to the intentions of Government. The style of the book may be too high or too low; the matter

of the book may be too copious, or not sufficiently explanatory; the time allowed for preparation may be too short, or unnecessarily long; the rewards held out may require to be modified or extended. The attention of the examiner will be alive to every circumstance likely to convey a useful hint and will place it on record for his own guidance or for suggestion to his superior authority. According to the greater or less degree of zeal excited among the body of school-masters will be the strictness or laxity of the examinations. If the competition is general and active, the examination will be searching and the rewards bestowed on those only who have made themselves thoroughly competent. If the number of competitors is small and their efforts feeble, the examination will be less strict, and the rewards bestowed on a lower standard of excellence in order to encourage others to appear as candidates. As the plan gains ground throughout the country in public confidence, the rewards will be gradually limited to the highest standard of excellence, consisting in a perfect acquaintance with the contents of the work forming the subject of examination. When on these or similar principles the examiner will have completed the examination of the school-masters of two or three thanas, he will proceed to the next set of thanas, and so on until he has a second time completed the tour of the district. At this period the examiner should be required to make a report containing the results of his experience as to the working of the plan, his opinion of its advantages or disadvantages, and the improvements of which it is susceptible. My expectation is that, by these means judiciously employed in a given number of districts, in a period at the farthest of two years, a body of school-masters would be formed incomparably better instructed in what they all at present profess, more or less, to teach than any equal body of school-masters of the same class now to be found throughout Bengal.

The preceding details contemplate the employment of the first volume only of the proposed series of school-books containing complete instruction in all the branches of a native vernacular education. I assume that this instruction must be at the foundation of all real improvement, for unless the people have a competent knowledge of the forms of composition and accounts universally practised in native society, whatever else they may be taught, they cannot be deemed to have received a practical education, and without that knowledge no native teacher should be recognized as qualified to act in such a capacity. If it should be supposed that the great body of the people do not need and cannot be expected to acquire more than this amount of instruction, and that, therefore, we should be contented with it in their teachers without seeking to carry them any farther, the advantage will still be great of carrying both teachers and people thus far. With the increased attainments of the teachers, and with the respect and

encouragement bestowed on them by Government, there would be, it is believed, a gradual extension of instruction to the people which, even within the limits of the native system, in proportion as it became general would give the people greater protection against the impositions and exactions to which their ignorance of letters often subjects them. Others may be of opinion, as I am, that it is desirable and practicable to instruct the body of the people in the useful arts adapted to their circumstances, in the moral and social duties of life, and in a knowledge of the leading facts and principles belonging to the physical constitution of the world and to the history and condition of their own and other countries; and for this purpose their instructors must, in the first place, be rendered qualified. Accordingly the second, third, and fourth volumes of the series of school-books being prepared in succession, those school-masters who have successfully passed through the first examination will receive a copy of the second volume of the series to be the subject of examination the second year; and the third and fourth volumes will, in like manner, be distributed to the successful candidates, respectively, of the second and third years until all the volumes to which it may be deemed advisable to extend the series are exhausted. Thus within a period of four years four different classes of native teachers might be, and probably would be, produced; for some would rest contented with the distinction acquired by proficiency in the first volume; others would stop at the second; a third class would be ambitious to study the succeeding volume; and a fourth class would complete the series; no one receiving the fourth volume who had not been satisfactorily examined on the third, nor the third who had not been examined on the second, nor the second who had not been examined on the first. All would have their names registered as respectively belonging to the first, second, third, and fourth classes of approved vernacular teachers; and there would thus probably continue to be four classes of native teachers with various qualifications and attainments corresponding to the wants of the different classes and conditions of native society.

All that has yet been proposed, if carried fully into operation, will only have the effect of communicating to the body of teachers a superior degree and kind of instruction to that which they now possess; but it will have no direct, and little indirect, effect in improving their capacity to convey that instruction to others. The capacity to acquire and the capacity to communicate knowledge do not necessarily co-exist in the same person and are often found separate. The discipline and management of native common schools are in general the worst that can be conceived, for they consist in the absence of almost all regular discipline and management whatsoever; and as a teacher is only half qualified for his duties who perfectly knows all that he is expected or required to

teach, and who is ignorant of the most approved modes of conveying instruction to others, it is indispensable to devise means for communicating that description of qualification to native teachers.

There are three modes in which this object may be, less or more, perfectly attained, and three occasions on which each mode, respectively, may be usefully employed.

The first mode is by *written directions verbally explained*. Every school-book prepared and distributed under the orders of Government will contain well-digested practical directions, clearly and simply expressed, for the guidance of teachers in the use they are to make of it for the instruction of their scholars; and the directions will be minutely and verbally explained by the examiner when he puts the book in to their hands.

The second mode is by *practical example*. In the periodical examinations of teachers—and of their scholars too, according to a part of the plan yet to be developed—such an arrangement of details will be adopted as may present a fit example for the imitation of the whole body of native teachers. According to the plan, these examinations will probably occur once every month in the same district and twice a year in the same part of the district. It is, therefore, important that such arrangements should be made for these frequently recurring exhibitions as will afford a lesson of simplicity, order, quiet, promptitude, and general efficiency; and the attention of native teachers should be drawn to the mode of conducting them that they may derive any practical hints which good sense and experience may enable them to apply to their own institutions. The spirit of these examinations also—the superior importance attached to practical knowledge and moral excellence above mere form and routine, intellectual display, or metaphysical subtilty—may be reasonably expected to give some tone to the character and instructions of the native teachers.

The third mode is by *precept and example combined in normal schools*. I am satisfied that the two modes previously mentioned, although they may be partially beneficial, are inadequate, and that it is only by the third mode that teachers can be thoroughly qualified for their important functions. They have been suggested because no form or mode of useful influence directly attainable should be neglected, and because, without further experience, it may be feared that they are the only modes in which the majority of teachers will at present submit to be guided on such a subject. The attempt, however, should be made to employ the most efficient means, and with that view there should be a normal school for teachers in every district in which the plan now proposed is introduced. For this purpose, adhering to the principle of building on existing institutions, whether new or old, I propose to connect by friendly relations the long-established vernacular schools of the country with those which have been

recently formed and are every year increasing in number under the management of the General Committee of Public Instruction. For some years the plan of the committee has been to establish an English school at the head station of every district; and within the last two years, with the growing conviction of the importance of cultivating the language of the people, a vernacular department has been attached to each institution. The manner in which I would link the English school with the established vernacular schools will afterwards be shown. It is the vernacular department of the English school that I would propose gradually to form and mature into a normal school for native teachers, answering every purpose which that department now does, and at the same time affording both instruction and example to native teachers in the art of teaching. The qualifications of the teachers appointed to the vernacular department or normal school should be estimated and the whole discipline framed with a distinct view to this important purpose.

I am not prepared to speak with confidence of the extent to which the *instruction offered in normal schools* would be sought by native teachers. In every district there are certain months of the year—in different districts and in different years the months vary—when it would be more convenient to the teachers to attend than in other months. A general failure of the crops of any season would have the effect of closing many schools from the inability of parents to pay for their children's schooling; and the failure of any particular crop in a district would have a local and temporary effect of the same kind. On such occasions many teachers would probably be glad to attend the normal school for regular practical instruction in their profession; while at other times when crops are abundant and parents able to pay, they would be unwilling to relinquish the profits, and we should not seek to draw them from the duties of their vocation. The normal school, therefore, should be open to native teachers throughout the year, and it should not surprise or disappoint us if for months in succession, or even for a whole year, none should appear to receive instruction. To stimulate their attendance, two expedients may be legitimately adopted. One is that all native teachers shall not be permitted indiscriminately to attend the normal school, but only those who have evinced such industry and devotion to their profession as shall have enabled them to pass successfully through at least one of the periodical examinations. It will thus be a favor, and therefore an object of desire, or rather a reward bestowed on merit, and therefore an object of ambition. It will probably have the double effect of stimulating a greater number of teachers to appear as candidates for examination and a greater number of successful candidates to seek the advantages of instruction in the normal school. In other words, it will both be a motive and an end, an auxiliary to success, and in itself the success which is sought. A

second expedient is that those native teachers who attend the normal school shall be relieved from all anxiety respecting the means of subsistence during the period of attendance. That period I would limit to four successive years for each teacher and to three months in each year,—the month to be reckoned not by days or broken parts of months, but month by month, or entire months, in order that the instruction may, for some time at least, be continuous and systematic. The native teachers will receive travelling expenses at the rate of one to three annas per day, according to the price of grain in the district and according to the number of days' journey in coming from and returning to their homes, and subsistence-money at the same rate during the period they remain in regular and diligent attendance at the normal school within the prescribed limits. The only object for which I recommend this allowance is to remove a probable objection against attendance at the normal school by giving the teacher who cannot afford the loss of his time and labor a bare subsistence during the period of his absence from home; but it is possible that the extreme poverty of many may cause it to operate as a direct inducement. Beyond these expedients I do not at present perceive that any others can be with advantage employed, however desirable and important to obtain the attendance of native teachers at a well-disciplined and well-instructed normal school.

Having gone thus far in the formation of a body of approved vernacular teachers, and having obtained results upon the whole satisfactory during a trial of four years, I would propose to take one step farther, with a view to connect those teachers permanently with the Government and the people, and to secure their usefulness and responsibility to both. It must be evident that the measures yet recommended are preparatory in their nature and will be uncertain and fluctuating in their effects. They will awaken increased attention to education among the natives, convince them of the desire of Government to promote it, and more or less elicit their co-operation. They will call into existence a better class of teachers and fit them for the discharge of their duty to the community. But the effect cannot be, and should not be expected to be, permanent. I have before expressed the opinion that, in the present torpid state of the national mind in this country, *an education of stimulants* is required; but the operation of stimulants is by their very nature temporary, and they gradually cease to produce the effects expected from them. Some means, therefore, must be sought to give a stable and enduring character to the system. What is to be desired is that, at the close of the course of public examinations and pedagogic instructions through which the teachers may be required to pass, we may be able to place before them some higher reward than any they have hitherto obtained, which will rouse them to further exertion, which when obtained will satisfy their ambition, and which will also be accompanied by such

checks and guards as will secure their continued zeal, activity, and usefulness. A small endowment of land to each village school-master will answer this description. Such an endowment will be far more earnestly desired than even an assignment on the land-revenue of Government, both because the latter is open to all manner of abuse, and because the former gives more consideration in native society. It will give the village school-master a resting-place and a permanent means of subsistence for life or during good behaviour, and will thus produce both contentment of mind and diligence in the discharge of duty. It will fix his obligations, his interests, and his pleasures in one locality, and thus surround him with the most salutary influences derived from those to whom he will be constantly responsible. It may be added that numerous authorities may be adduced to show, if it were necessary, that under the ancient Hindu village system this has been from time immemorial the mode of remunerating the village servants. On these grounds I propose that small *endowments of land* should be the means employed to give permanence to the system of vernacular schools, and I will now briefly mention the conditions under which they should be granted and indicate some of the sources from which they may be derived.

The school-masters entitled to claim this endowment shall be those only who have successfully passed through the public and periodical examinations in the four school-books of the series already described; who, during the period in which this has been accomplished, shall have instructed six scholars per annum in any one of those books in such a manner as to enable them to pass through the examinations hereinafter to be prescribed for scholars; who shall farther have passed through a course of instruction in the normal school of the district with approved characters and attainments; and who shall finally receive and produce the written testimony and recommendation of three-fourths of the landowners, tenants, and householders of the villages to which they belong, or in which they propose to settle, and in which the endowment is to be situated. A lower degree of qualification cannot be required with a view to their future efficiency; and so high a degree of qualification will, for some time, prevent any considerable number of candidates for this reward from making their appearance, although in prospect it will produce its effect even upon those who may never reach the object of their ambition.

The endowment is to consist of land belonging to the lands of the village in which the incumbent is to exercise his vocation, the quantity of land to be determined by the value per bigha, and the total value not to exceed one-half of the ascertained average annual income of a vernacular teacher in that district. Thus the mean rate of payment to such a teacher in the city and district of Moorsheedabad, as shown at page 177, is rupees 4-12-9, or to allow for unascertained sources of profit, say, rupees 5 per month, or



rupees 60 per annum. The proposed endowment in this case should be worth thirty rupees yearly; and it might consist of thirty bighas of land worth one rupee per bigha, or fifteen worth two rupees, or ten worth three rupees, or seven and a half worth four rupees, per bigha, or of any greater or less number of bighas of one quality or of different qualities of land, the entire value of which should not exceed thirty rupees per annum. The village school-master would thus have one-half of his income secured to him in a form that would in general admit of considerable improvement, and in a form, too, the most gratifying to his self-respect and the most conducive to the respect of the little community of which he is a part; while he would have to look to that community to supply the remaining moiety, either in fees or in perquisites, or in any other form which they might choose to adopt, as a mode of remunerating him for the instruction of their children.

No endowment should be created, no trust should be exercised without checks against mal-appropriation and mal-administration. I, therefore, propose that all those landowners, tenants, and householders who have petitioned for a school-endowment and nominated and recommended a candidate shall constitute a *village-school association* acting by a committee under known regulations for the inspection, superintendence, and control of the village-school, the committee to be chosen by the general body of village-constituents and reported to the district committee. When a vacancy occurs, three-fourths of those who constitute the village association shall have the power of nominating a successor, which nomination, accompanied by the necessary proofs of the amount of support it has received, shall be reported to the district committee, and through that committee confirmed by the general committee. The endowment will be held only for life or during good behaviour, and on deprivation or death it will revert to the educational fund of the State until the appointment of a successor. Deprivation will take place on complaint of not less than one-fourth of the landowners, tenants, and householders of the village, the sufficiency and validity of the complaint being ascertained by the actual investigation of an ameen or agent deputed by the district committee for the purpose, and his decision being confirmed by that committee after perusing the recorded evidence of both parties and the report of the ameen on the whole. To obtain the means of estimating the utility of every school compared with the actual wants of the village population, and to keep up a general control and superintendence over the village school association, and through that association over the village school and school-master, a list of children belonging to the village above five and below fourteen years of age should be required every year or every half year from the village association by the district committee and transmitted to the general committee, together with a list of daily attendance at the school to be signed by the master and

certified every month by the committee of the village association. It may, perhaps, be proper to mention that when I speak here of a village, I mean an *Asli* village with its attached *Dakhili* villages, together equivalent to an English parish or French *commune*. The *Asli* village, as the name imports, is the *original* one from which the others have sprung. The *Dakhili* villages, as the name also imports, are those sub-divisions of the village-lands which have been entered separately in the revenue records, although still belonging to the village and contained within its boundaries.

The *Dakhili* villages or hamlets are called variously in different districts, *para*, *chak*, *bhag*, *danga*, *dih*, *dighi*, *digha*, *khati*, *bati*, *bari*, *ghat*, *ganj*, *kalpa*, &c., with some other name prefixed. They are generally inhabited, but sometimes merely denote a proprietary distinction of lands. The *Asli* and *Dakhili* villages together usually contain from 1,000 to 1,500 inhabitants; and if, according to the calculation in page 229 founded on the population returns contained in Chapter I., Section XIII. of this Report, we take the average number of children between 14 and five to be about 20 per cent., it follows that in such a cluster of villages and hamlets there will be from two to three hundred children of the teachable age, affording ample scope and remuneration for the labors of one teacher. I hope also that it will appear to others, as it does to me, that the village-community, wherever it can be brought to act, is the proper authority for watching over the endowment and enforcing its conditions. I am, indeed, by no means sanguine that it will be easy to induce the villagers to combine and to act for such a purpose when and where we please, but every facility and encouragement to such associations should be given, and the attempt should be steadily and unweariedly prosecuted, for upon its success would depend an incalculable amount of good to the country. Such associations, originally formed for school-purposes and effectually contributing to their accomplishment, would gradually and almost necessarily grow into nuclei of public spirit and organs for its expression in various ways and for various purposes; for the purposes of municipal government, village police, local improvement, and statistical knowledge. In time of danger from without, or difficulty from within, they would be chains of posts intersecting the country in all directions and affording ready and faithful instruments of communication and co-operation. At the present moment (April 2, 1838) in the absence of such instruments how helpless both the Government and the public feel themselves to be in their attempts to alleviate the frightful famine which afflicts the western provinces, or even to know the extent to which it exists in the interior parts of districts remote from the dwellings of public functionaries and European settlers!

Many of these details relating to the administration of village-school endowments will probably require to be modified in

practice, but they are mentioned here that the various bearings of the question may be better understood. I shall now attempt briefly to indicate some of the principal sources from each of which, to a greater or less extent, the means of establishing the proposed endowments may be gradually derived.

The first source is the *Khas Mahals* of Government. In the two provinces of Bengal and Behar, in which the land-revenue is for the most part permanently settled and limited, there are in every district, or in almost every district, estates called by the above name belonging in full and entire propriety to Government. Government is the landlord, the sole and exclusive owner of those estates, just as much as any nobleman in England is of the estates which he has inherited free of debt or entail from his ancestors. The farmers and cultivators of those estates are Government tenants with varying periods and conditions of lease. The managers, who have to treat with the tenants, are Government servants specially appointed for the purpose. The entire net produce is the property of Government, and Government is consequently subject to all the liabilities and responsibilities attaching to a large and wealthy landed proprietor. It is not necessary to advert here to the modes in which Government has come to retain or assume this character in the settled provinces; nor does my information enable me to state the number and extent of the estates so held, although it is undoubted that they are considerable in both respects, and it is believed that they are not distinguished in any way from estates held by private proprietors for improved modes of management or cultivation, or for the superior character and comforts of the cultivators. All that is requisite to my present object is to bring distinctly into view the fact that such estates exist, and to suggest that here, if any where, a beginning may be made in the attempt to give a permanent character by means of small endowments to an improved system of village-schools. If the importance of the object is admitted, the community will naturally look to Government to afford proofs of its advantages on the Government estates and to set an example of liberality. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the mode in which those estates are managed to point out the way in which such an object may be most conveniently, economically, and efficiently attained, but many friends of native education are competent to furnish such information when it shall be required. The renewal of leases will afford an opportunity of setting apart for this purpose a few bighas of the lands of each village with a deduction so inconsiderable from the rent payable by the farmer as to be scarcely perceived, and to be hereafter more than compensated by the pecuniary as well as moral benefits which an improved system of instruction will bring in its train. Whatever the mode adopted of carrying it into effect, the principle I propose is that Government should make it legally obligatory on itself to establish

such endowment in the villages of Khas estates, subject to all the provisions, conditions, and limitations before described. This may be done not only with little cost to the State, but with great administrative facility in consequence of the existence of a distinct class of public officers who are charged with the management of those estates.

After setting such an example, it is worthy of consideration whether Government might, not only without difficulty or offence, but with honor and credit to itself, look to the endowed establishments of the country for similar arrangements on their estates, and enact that they shall be in like manner legally obligatory under the provisions aforesaid. The most important of these are *religious establishments*, with which no interference for religious purposes can be justified. To prevent misapprehension, therefore, and to guide to the adoption of views likely to obtain practical effect, I shall quote here the opinions which I find expressed by the Bengal Government and by the Court of Directors.

In a revenue letter from Bengal, on the affairs of Cuttack, dated the 30th March 1821, and contained in the Revenue and Judicial Selections, Vol. III., pp. 68—90, the Bengal Government expresses its sentiments to the following effect:—“It appears to us to be doubtful whether it be advisable for the officers of Government to interfere to give effect to endowments purely of a religious nature; and we can scarcely consider it a matter of public interest to prevent the appropriation by individuals (Musulman or layman) of rents designed to support the servants of a Hindu temple or idol. The right of Government to do so is undoubted. In some cases where useful objects are combined with purposes of religion, the exercise of the power may be a public duty; and if any class or community interested in maintaining an endowment shall complain of the misappropriation, it is, of course, our duty to see that the wrong done is redressed, though the ground of complaint may be founded on prejudice and superstition. Farther than this we are little disposed to go, for the misappropriations, though abusive, appear to us, in regard to most of the institutions in question to be of rather good than ill consequence to the public, and the nature of the instruction is such that it is always difficult for an European officer to touch without injuring them.”—p. 79, paragraphs 99—101.

The Court of Directors in a revenue letter to the Bengal Government, dated 10th December 1823, in reply to the preceding paragraphs, thus writes—“We concur in most of the sentiments which you have expressed upon this subject. When alienated by a competent authority, you doubt if they” (lands held free for the support of religious institutions) “could be resumed for the purposes of Government, even though the revenue of them should be found to be misapplied. We think, however, that you may

justly make an exception where forfeiture has been legally incurred by neglect of the condition on which the grant was made. In other cases we agree with you that it can scarcely be regarded as a matter of public interest to interfere. 'The misappropriations,' you say, 'though abusive,' appear to you, and we doubt not justly, 'in regard to most of the institutions in question, to be rather of good than ill consequence to the public.' One thing, however, in such cases is always worthy of attention, and that is, the inquiry whether to objects of little or no utility which thus may have an expenditure devoted to them, *might not be annexed other objects really beneficial*; WHETHER GOOD INSTITUTIONS OF EDUCATION, for example, might not be combined with the services performed to an idol, and even in some cases whether the useful objects might not quietly and without offence be substituted for the useless. It was highly proper that you should issue orders for an accurate account of the extent and nature of the lands thus appropriated. When that is before you (and we desire its communication to us), it will be more perfectly seen *in what way any endeavour can be made to derive from such a fund some general advantage.*"—*Selections, Vol. III., p. 96, paragraphs 33, 34.*

Again, the Court in a revenue letter to the Madras Government, dated 29th September 1824, after referring to various recorded proceedings of the Local Government relating to the temples of natives and the control exercised, or proper to be exercised, by Government, remarks—"The questions connected with this subject are both delicate and important; but we are sorry to perceive from the documents before us that so little of order has hitherto been established, and that the proceedings of Government have been so little regulated by any settled principle. The difficulty is how to interfere so as to prevent the misapplication of the funds to mischievous purposes, without exciting the religious jealousies of the people. But yet we doubt not that a line of conduct may be drawn, by which, without infringing on religious liberty, or interfering with the most jealous scruples of the people, not only evil where it exists may be avoided, *but something useful, ESPECIALLY IN THE SHAPE OF EDUCATION, may be connected with the expenditure of the revenues, often very large, of the native temples.*"—*Selections, Vol. III., p. 596, para. 7.*

It is probable from these extracts that any measure which would have the effect of peaceably drawing forth the resources of these religious establishments, to however limited an extent, for the promotion of education, would receive the sanction of the Honorable Court. The Government and the people have strong claims upon them for strenuous co-operation in prosecuting such an object, provided always that nothing shall be mixed up with that object inconsistent with their character as religious institutions.

The wealthy religious communities, for example, at *Kali Ghat* in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, at *Deoghur* in Beerbhoom, at *Gya* and *Baoudah Gya* in South Behar, are bound *as such*, in return for the perfect religious freedom they enjoy, and even in some instances for the peculiar privileges they possess, to be follow-workers with Government in providing for the better instruction of the people—an object which is not only good in itself, but which is specially incumbent on them as religious communities for the maintenance and improvement of that social order under which they live, and of which religion, its institutions, and its ministers are the proper securities and guards. It matters not whether such an obligation would at first be admitted; if it exists, it belongs to Government to make it be heard, felt, and recognized. The voice of the Government in such a matter would be responded to by that of the people, whose claims on these religious bodies are no less strong. They have derived all their accumulated wealth from the offerings of the people, they profess to exist for the benefit of the people, from the depths of their poverty and ignorance, have a right to look to the spiritual guides whom they have enriched and raised above themselves for something more than empty forms and ceremonies, some practical knowledge, and moral instruction. Such an object, however, must be sought not only “without infringing on religious liberty,” but also without “interfering with the most jealous scruples of the people.” All fears on this head must be removed by the terms of the suggestion I have offered, according to which a requisition of three-fourths of the householders, &c., of a village is necessary to create the legal obligation on the proprietor of the estate to establish the proposed endowment of a village school-master. I have no means of ascertaining with accuracy the extent of landed property belonging to those religious establishments, but according to common report it is considerable. In Beerbhoom it was, stated to me that the priesthood of *Deoghur* possess estates not only at *Deoghur*, *Sarkaul*, and *Giddari* in that district, but also in the districts of *Bhaugulpore*, *Patna*, *Tirhoot*, *Moorshedabad*, and *Burdwan*, and even in *Nepal*, a foreign country. I would apply the principle, not only to the landed estates of Hindu temples, but also to those of public endowed institutions wherever they are to be found, whether Hindu or Buddhist, Mohammadan, or Christian. The Mohammadan institution at *Kusbeh Bagha* in *Rajshahi* has 42 villages, in each of which a vernacular school might thus be established. The Calcutta Madrisa is reputed to possess landed property. At *Bohar* and *Chaughariya* in the *Burdwan* district, and at *Durbhanga* in *Tirhoot*, there are Mohammadan institutions largely endowed. Serampore College has an estate in the *Sunderbuns*; and there may be other endowed Christian institutions, Protestant, Catholic, Armenian, Greek, possessing similar property in the *Mofussil*. If any, then all without exception, should be required by law under similar circumstances to aid

Government in its endeavours to extend instruction to those classes whose labor gives value to the entire property of the country, and whose improvement will be its best safe-guard and protection.

Another source from which such endowments may be anticipated is the *voluntary contributions of wealthy zemindars*, whether called forth by a sincere desire to benefit their dependent countrymen, or by the prospect of those honours and distinctions which Government can bestow, or by a combination of both motives. Who can doubt that when Government shall engage with earnestness and on a large scale in the work of instructing the people, the example will light up into a flame many a generous feeling which would otherwise be smouldering in its native seat, unseen and unknown, un blessing and unblest? I will not attempt to enumerate the benefactions that within my own recollection during the last twenty years have flowed from the liberty of native gentlemen. Roads have been constructed, bridges built, and other public works executed. They are at this moment joining heart and hand with the European community for the relief of the western provinces; they have established at their own expense, and in some instances teach by their own labor *English* schools for the intellectual advancement of their countrymen; and they have from time to time placed large sums at the disposal of the Committee of Public Instruction for the objects of that body. No one can regret that their public spirit and philanthropy have taken these directions, but *the greatest triumphs of native benevolence remain yet to be achieved in raising the body of their countrymen from the debasement of slaves and serfs to the knowledge, the self-respect, and the self-dependence of free men*, and all that has been yet accomplished is only a pledge of what the native gentry can do, what they are ready to do, and what they will do, when the path is pointed out to them and the lead is taken by Government in the adoption of measures for the general education of the people. In the distribution of civil honors to those who deserve well of Government and of society, let special regard be had to all who shall make adequate provision for the education of the ryots on their estates, and a rich harvest of good to the country may be expected to spring up. I do not anticipate the want of endowments for school-masters so much as of qualified school-masters to take possession of the endowments which intelligent and wealthy zemindars will be found prepared to create for them.

There are numerous small landed tenures throughout the country, neither included in the Khas Mehals of Government, nor in the estates of endowed establishments, nor in the large zemindaries, but which constitute in the aggregate, a very large proportion of the landed property of the country. They are, for the most part, owned by those who, in revenue language, are called

dependent and independent talookdars, *i. e.*, small landed proprietors who pay the revenue due from them to Government dependently or through a large proprietor, and those who pay it independently or direct to the officers of Government without the intervention of any other party. Most of these small proprietors are probably unable without inconvenience to endow a school-master in each village at their own sole expense, but they would, in a majority of instances, be found both able and willing to contribute their aid towards such an object, and some means must be devised for drawing it forth, some channel formed through which it may flow. What is wanting on their part must be supplied by Government, and therefore some limit must be fixed to ascertain those who will be entitled to the assistance which it is proposed that Government should bestow. For the sake of illustration, without pretending to be able to judge what the precise limit ought to be, I will suppose that those only who pay less than Rupees 1,000 per annum of land revenue to Government will receive the advantage, while all above that standard will be held competent to provide for the instruction of their ryots from their own unaided resources. Having fixed this, or any other standard, it is proposed that any one talookdar, dependent or independent, paying revenue under the standard, or any number of talookdars, putneedars, &c., in Bengal, or of village zemindars, maliks, &c., in Behar, who shall establish a village-school endowment with the prescribed guarantees, shall be entitled to claim from Government *a remission of one-half of the annual revenue due on account of the land so endowed*, it being always understood that the net produce of the total quantity of land endowed shall be equivalent to one-half only of the average income of village-school-masters in the district in which the village is situated. Thus, if rupees 60 per annum is the average income, one-half of that sum will continue to be provided by fees and perquisites, and one-half will be provided by endowment. Of the latter, one moiety will consist of revenue remitted by Government to the extent of rupees 15 per annum, and the other moiety only will be contributed by the small proprietors. I am assured by intelligent natives that this remission of revenue would prove a powerful stimulus to the small proprietors, and would inspire them with confidence in the good intentions of the Government and affection from those who administer it. There are various modifications under which this arrangement may take effect, but it is not necessary to my present purpose to do more than indicate the general principle.

All these resources, even if they succeed to a great extent, may also fail in numerous instances from the apathy, the ignorance, and the poverty of those most interested; but there will still remain means at the command of Government which cannot be applied to a more legitimate purpose.



*First.*—A sum of one hundred thousand rupees is by Act of the Imperial Parliament devoted to the encouragement of learning in British India, but I am not aware that any portion of this sum has hitherto been employed in the education of the poor through the medium of their own language. Can it be applied to a more needful or a fitter purpose? Half the amount would annually purchase 166 endowments for qualified village school-masters, each worth rupees 30 per annum and bought at 10 years' purchase.

*Second.*—Considerable sums of money have, from time to time, been placed by wealthy natives at the disposal of Government for the general purposes of public improvement or of public instruction without any more specific appropriation; and there can be little doubt that similar sums will continue to be bestowed. May it not be hoped that the sums which have been or may be received in this way will henceforth obtain, in whole or in part, a destination suited to the most urgent wants of the country and be applied to the instruction of the poor and ignorant, those who are too ignorant to understand the evils of ignorance, and too poor, even if they did, to be able to remove the cause that produces them?

*Third.*—Instructions have been issued to the officers engaged in the prosecution of the measures for the resumption of lakhiraj tenures liable to assessment to report every case that may come under their cognizance in which lands or money have been granted for purposes connected with education, whether falling under the operation of the resumption laws or not. What the effect of these instructions which were issued in September 1836 may have been, or may yet be, I have not had the means of ascertaining except in one district, that of South Behar, where, according to a statement furnished by Mr. Reid, the Deputy Collector, under date the 30th January 1837, the number of endowments appear to be considerable granted for the joint benefit of fakiers, poor travellers, and scholars, but now almost all alleged to be converted to the private uses of the heirs of the grantees or their assigns. The same state of things will probably be found to exist in other districts. In what instances or to what extent these endowments may now be deemed applicable to the purposes of village education it is not for me to judge; but, if found legitimately applicable, the benefit would be great. Seven tenures of this description, of which the details are contained in the statement above-mentioned, include an area of 4,539 bighas which, at the low average rate of one rupee per bigha, would afford the means of establishing in one district 15½ such village-school endowments as I have proposed. A remark reported to me in that district as made by a person whose lakhiraj tenure had been assessed under the resumption laws may help to show the way in which the subject would be regarded by the people. He lamented the loss of property he had sustained, and added that even in this loss there would have been some remaining

ground of satisfaction, if the amount of assessment, instead of being absorbed into the general revenue of the country, had been devoted to the purposes of education to which, in part at least, it had been hitherto applied. I must add, however, that the education which this person had, probably in view was not vernacular, but Persian and Arabic education.

*Fourth.*—If all other resources fail, there is still one left, the general revenue of the country on which the poor and the ignorant have a primary claim,—a claim which is second to no other whatsoever, for *from whence is that revenue derived, but from the bones and the sinews, the toil and sweat of those whose cause I am pleading?* Shall £10,000 continue to be the sole permanent appropriation from a revenue of more than twenty millions sterling for the education of nearly a hundred millions of people?

• By these means, and from these sources, I propose to qualify a body of vernacular teachers, to raise their character and provide for their support, and to give a gradual, a permanent, and a general establishment to a system of common schools. Without competent instructors all efforts at educational improvement must be futile, and I have, therefore, directed my principal attention in all that has yet been advanced to the means of making and keeping them efficient. With this view, according to the plan now sketched, teachers will not only be taught, but provision will be made for their subsistence. They will feel that, to the extent of at least one-half of an average income, they are dependent during good behaviour on Government,—the common trustee of all the endowments that may be created for this purpose; and to the extent of the remaining half upon the degree of repute and acceptance they enjoy in the village communities to which they attach themselves. The recommendation of those communities will be essential to the enjoyment even of the former moiety, and their well-founded complaints should be sufficient to ensure deprivation. If, as I anticipate, the co-operation of the village communities in this object shall have the effect in time of eliciting public spirit and awakening and directing proper domestic and social feeling, the appointment and displacing of teachers should be vested in them, and ultimately the power of imposing a common rate upon all householders in substitution of unequal and uncertain school fees and perquisites. In fine, I look to these village communities, if wisely estimated and treated by Government, as the germs from which the real prosperity of the country must spring, local and municipal improvement and efficient district and provincial administration.

If I were to stop here, and to obtain the sanction of Government and the co-operation of the native community to accomplish the views now propounded, I should hope that a sure foundation would thus be laid for a national system of education. But something else may be done to facilitate the operation of the

plan, to extend the improved instruction, and to stimulate and aid the teachers in the interval before they can become eligible to hold a village-school endowment. That interval will probably extend to a period of four years which will be occupied in acquiring a knowledge of the series of school-books, and in passing through a course of normal instruction. But the vernacular school-masters are poor men, and they must teach as well as learn, nor will they learn the less successfully because their circumstances compel them to make immediate use from year to year of the new knowledge they acquire. What is proposed, then, is to devise some means of assisting and encouraging them in the exercise of their profession,—some means not merely of improving their qualifications, but of extending the utility of the instruments thus obtained and fashioned.

For this purpose I must revert to the point at which it was assumed that, on the occasion of the first periodical examination, a body of native teachers had established their competency in the first book which had been put into their hands six months before, and had received the second volume of the series of school-books in which they were invited to qualify themselves still further. I have proposed also on the same occasion to give to each approved teacher on loan and for the use of his scholars from three to twelve copies of the first book of the series, with the engagement on his part to produce six months thereafter from three to twelve pupils, according to the number of copies, thoroughly instructed in its contents and capable of standing a searching examination similar to that through which the teacher himself has passed. The inducements to accept and employ these copies are various. *First*, they are offered on loan, not to the scholars, but to the teacher who may sell the use of the books, as well as his own instruction to the scholars or their parents, and thus increase his emoluments. *Second*, they will become the absolute property of the teacher for future similar use, only by producing an equal number of instructed scholars. *Third*, the teacher will receive a corresponding number of copies of the second book of the series on loan and for the use of scholars, only if he shall be found to have made a proper use of those copies of the first received for the same purpose. *Fourth*, one of the qualifications for an endowment is that the teacher shall have instructed six scholars per annum in some one of the books of the series in such a manner as shall enable them to sustain an examination; and to strengthen this inducement and insure justice, the name, age, and caste of the teacher whose scholars have passed, their and his place of residence, the book in which they have qualified themselves and the date of their examination should be recorded. *Fifth*, a strong additional motive might be presented to the teacher by offering him one rupee for every instructed scholar produced not exceeding six or twelve; but, for the reasons already assigned, I would, if possible, avoid money-payments.

*Sixth*, the scholars will be attracted to the study of the book by the higher price which their parents will have to pay for their instruction, by the curiosity and pleasure which new and useful knowledge will inspire, and by the love of display which a public examination will gratify. An honorable ambition may be still further gratified by the formal registry of their names, designation, and places of residence, as those of approved students of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, or 4th class, according to the number of the series in which they have been examined; and, on grounds to be immediately explained, by making the 4th class eligible to a course of instruction in the English School of the district.

At the second periodical examination those teachers who had, in whole or in part, fulfilled the purpose for which the books were given would produce their pupils for examination. To give the examiner time, it may perhaps appear to be desirable that not more than six pupils of one teacher should be pronounced qualified; but if one or more of the six produced shall not stand the examination, he may be permitted to bring forward one or more to the extent of six to be substituted for them. By this means not more than twelve scholars of the same teacher can be examined at the same time, and not more than six of those twelve can be finally approved. If the number who shall successfully pass through the examination be less than six, for the actual number only should the teacher receive credit. If the number of the scholars and the competition of the teachers should be great, only the highest qualifications of the scholars should be recognized. If the number is small, and the competition feeble, a lower standard of qualification must be admitted; and, according to the discretion of the examiner, some consideration should be shown for those teachers who appear to have bestowed a great deal of labor upon their scholars without any very successful result.

At the next and subsequent examinations the same course will be pursued as at the former with such modifications as increasing experience will suggest and the nature of the text-book forming the subject of examination may require. If the plan should go into full operation there will ultimately be as many classes of teachers and as many classes of scholars to be examined at one time as there are kinds of books distributed, and in this state of things the examiners will enjoy no sinecure. But the number of teachers necessary in a district will soon be filled up, and gradually the class of teachers will come to be composed of those who have already, as scholars, passed through the requisite examinations, and whose claim on this ground to be recognized as approved teachers may be at once decided by a reference to the examiner's own records. The old race of school-masters will thus gradually pass away, and be succeeded by a race trained from the beginning under the operation of the new system. It will thus

happen that by the operation of the system itself the expenditure on account of it will be lessened, and its efficiency at the same time increased, leaving the whole of the funds to be applied to the extension and consolidation of the plan by carrying it into new districts or provinces, by increasing the number of scholars in the same districts or provinces, by enlarging generally the course of instruction, or by establishing more numerous or more ample endowments until the various classes and grades of native society shall know all that it is important to their own welfare and to the prosperity and good order of society that they should be taught.

The general effect of this training upon the face of society, if steadily pursued, will be to increase intelligence, enterprise, and morality, to make the people better acquainted with their own interests and with the legitimate means of protecting and promoting them, and I confidently believe and hope to attach them by gratitude and affection to the European rulers of the country as their real friends and benefactors. It is not, however, to be denied that such a system of popular instruction will, in the higher order of minds, excite more ambitious aspirations than it can gratify,—aspirations which, if not gratified, may ferment into discontent or degenerate into crime. To maximize the certain good and to minimize the possible evil, an opening must be made out of the narrow circle of a native education into the wider scope for talent and for ambition afforded by an English education. In the present circumstances of the country the knowledge of English is for the native aspirant the grand road to distinction; and its attainment opens to him the prospect of office, wealth, and influence. To draw, therefore, the best and noblest spirits into close and friendly communication with ourselves, and to employ them for the greatest good of the country, I propose that those scholars who shall successfully pass through an examination in the highest vernacular class book shall receive a special certificate declaring them entitled, whenever a vacancy may occur, to receive admission into the English school of the district. The first effect of this will be to improve the working of the native part of the system by stimulating the vernacular scholars to zeal and industry, since a course of native instruction must be completed before eligibility to the English school can be recognized. The second effect will be to improve the working of the English part of the system by furnishing a constant and abundant supply of candidates whose minds have at an early age been expanded by a liberal course of native instruction; whereas at present much of the attention of English teachers in district schools is frittered away in teaching the mere elements of the English language to children who are uninstructed in their own mother tongue.

In suggesting this plan of vernacular instruction, my chief hope is not to obtain an unqualified assent to my views and recommendations, but to rescue the subject from mere generalities

and to present something definite and tangible to Government and the public, either to approve or disapprove, to adopt, to alter, or to reject. I am far from supposing that the plan is liable to no objections, will be attended with no difficulties, and will require no modifications.

The grand and primary objection is one that would apply to all projects whatsoever of a similar tendency, viz., the *dangerous consequence to our power in this country from imparting instruction to the natives*. This objection cannot be better answered than in the words of Sir Charles Metcalfe contained in his report on the revenue of the territory of Delhi, dated 4th September 1815. After describing and recommending a particular system of revenue settlements, which would have the effect of improving the condition of the village zemindars and conferring benefits on them not enjoyed by the cultivators living under former or present native Governments, he adds—"It is, perhaps, impossible to foresee all the remote effects of such a system, and there may be those who would argue that it is injudicious to establish such a system which, by exciting a free and independent character, may possibly lead, at a future period, to dangerous consequences. There does not appear to be sufficient reason to apprehend any evil consequences, even at a remote period, from the introduction of this system. • It rather seems that the establishment of such advantages for the bulk of our subjects ought to attach them to the Government which confers the benefit. But even supposing the remote possibility of the evil consequences which may be apprehended, that would not be a sufficient reason for withholding any advantages from our subjects. Similar objections have been urged against our attempting to promote the education of our native subjects, but how unworthy it would be of a liberal Government to give weight to such objections ! The world is governed by an irresistible power which giveth and taketh away dominion, and vain would be the impotent prudence of man against the operations of its Almighty influence. All that rulers can do is to merit dominion by promoting the happiness of those under them. If we perform our duty in this respect, the gratitude of India, and the admiration of the world, will accompany our name through all ages, whatever may be the revolutions of futurity ; but if we withhold blessings from our subjects, from a selfish apprehension of possible danger at a remote period, we shall not deserve to keep our dominion, we shall merit that reverse which time has possibly in store for us, and shall fall with the mingled, hatred, and contempt, hisses and execrations of mankind. These remarks are offered in reply to objections which may be, and have been, urged against our conferring on our Indian subjects the blessings of independence and education. My own opinion is that the more blessings we confer on them, the better hold we shall have on their affections, and in consequence the greater strength and duration to our empire. It

is for the wisdom of Government to decide whether this expectation is visionary or founded on reason."

May these burning words produce their full effect until not an Englishman shall be found in India or out of India who will not be anxious to acknowledge that it is equally the duty and the interest of the British Government to improve and instruct its native subjects! The political power which rests on the affections of its subjects may be likened to the "wise man who built his house upon a rock, and the rain descended, and the streams came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded on a rock." The political power which rests on the ignorance of its subjects may be likened to the "foolish man who built his house on the sand, and the rains descended, and the streams came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell, and the fall of it was great."

The next objection may be held to apply to the expense of the plan, and on this topic various considerations may be suggested. It would be very satisfactory to me if I could state within what precise limits the expense will be confined; but it must be evident that in a country so vast and populous, where so very little has been done, and where so much remains to be accomplished, where so much must be hoped; and so little may be obtained from the co-operation of the native community, any such estimate would be deceptive. One thing, however, is certain that, if this or any similar plan is adopted, Government must lay its account with incurring first a small, then a gradually increasing, and ultimately a considerable, expenditure for the purpose, since it is, in fact, the creation of a new department of administration to be in time extended over the whole country. Another thing next to certain is that, in proportion as the plan is extended, it will have a direct effect in advancing the prosperity of the country, and an indirect effect in lessening the expense of governing it. But although it is impossible to know at present the cost of the plan when it shall be in full operation, yet I find it equally impossible to conceive any plan that shall afford a reasonable prospect of effecting so much good with so small an expenditure of means; for in any given district, by means of an educational survey, the appointment of an examiner, and the distribution of a few books, it proposes to call forth and set at work an infinite complication of hopes and fears, desires, ambitions and activities on the part of parents, teachers, and scholars, all aiming at the same object and tending to the same end,—the giving and receiving of instruction. Let us endeavor, however, without pretending to strict accuracy, to ascertain the cost of the experiment continued in a single district during a period of four years, and for this purpose we must look at every item of expense separately.

The first item will consist of the examiner's salary and allowances. I propose that for the first four years he shall have a salary

of 100 rupees per month, and an allowance of 50 rupees per month for establishment, stationery, and travelling expenses. This will be an expenditure of 1,800 rupees per annum.

The second item of expense will be occasioned by the survey of the district, to be conducted under the direction of the examiner. I will suppose that the district contains eighteen thanas; that a census both of the population and of schools is to be extended over the whole district; that five *wagifkars* will be requisite for each thana; that each *wagifkar* will receive ten rupees per month, including salary and allowances of every kind; and that the survey will occupy three months. The total expenditure will be 2,700 rupees, but as the benefit of the survey will be diffused over the whole period of four years, this is equivalent to an expenditure of 675 rupees per annum.

The third item of expense is that of books. I have no means of judging what the cost of preparation will be, and I can but conjecture what will be the cost of printing since the books are not yet written. In gross, however, let us suppose that the total cost to Government will be covered by two rupees per copy; and even this probably will be found in excess of the ultimate cost, if Government retain the copyright and stereotype the works. Suppose, further, that twenty-five teachers will appear as successful candidates in each thana, or four hundred and fifty in the whole district, and that each will receive one book for himself and six for his scholars in the year. That number will cost Government 6,300 rupees per annum.

A fourth item of expense may be found in the advantage of having an inspector for the number of districts included in a division to aid, advise, direct, and control the examiners, and to see generally that nothing is wanting to give efficiency to the plan. I would propose to give this officer a salary of 400 rupees per month, and 100 rupees per month for establishment, stationery, and travelling expenses. This will amount to 6,000 rupees per annum for a division, and assuming that the division contains five districts, it will be equivalent to 1,200 rupees per annum for each district.

The total expenditure for one district will thus be 9,975 rupees per annum, or 831 rupees per month, and for a division containing five districts 4,155 rupees per month, a sum less than many European servants of Government derive individually from the public revenue; and yet with this small sum—small in comparison of the good to be effected—might a foundation be laid for infusing fresh, moral, and intellectual life into seven or eight millions of an impoverished, debased, and neglected population.

Exclusive of fundamental objections to the principle, or the cost of the measure, practical difficulties may arise, some of which perhaps I do not now anticipate. Difficulty, for instance, may be experienced in consequence of the proposed exclusive employment



of native agency which may convey the impression to the native community that the object is one in which Government feels little interested, and unless means are employed to counteract such an impression, it may paralyse every exertion that the inspector and examiners may make. One means that may be suggested would be the publication, in some authentic form, of the sentiments and intentions of Government and of its expectations of native co-operation, embodied in a resolution, declaration, or address which would receive general circulation in all the English and native newspapers. The names and appointments of the inspectors and examiners should be published in the *Gazette*, giving them an official status of respectability. The commissioner of the division and the magistrate of the district should be instructed to give them support and countenance in every legitimate way, as was before suggested; and, in like manner, the proposed publication, in the *Gazette*, of the results of the periodical examinations, would have a beneficial effect.

A practical danger to which the efficiency of the measure may be exposed will arise from the want of a vigilant, prompt, and efficient superintendence exercised over the examiners. To supply such a superintendence I have proposed the *appointment of an inspector* for all the districts of a division. His duty would be generally to give efficiency to the plan, to counsel and guide the examiners, to receive and transmit their reports with his own observations, and the instructions of the General Committee for their guidance, and further to aid collectors of khas mehals, zemindars on their estates, and talookdars, maliks, and ryots in villages in organizing the proposed village-institutions with the endowments for their permanent support. The inspectors and examiners will be placed under the authority of the General Committee of Public Instruction. As the mainspring of the whole machinery will be found in this body, I trust that my anxiety for the success of a measure from which, if adopted, much good may arise, will not be interpreted in a sense disrespectful to the Committee, through which this report is forwarded to Government, if I add that its constitution does not appear adapted to a purpose which was not contemplated when it was originally formed and since remodelled. The number of individuals composing the Committee, the fact that, with the exception of the Secretary, their services are gratuitous and occasional, and that all the members without exception including the Secretary have other weighty duties to perform, must make it at least doubtful whether they can exercise a constant and systematic superintendence over an extended scheme of national instruction.

With the most cordial co-operation on the part of Government and its functionaries, and with the most vigorous superintendence by the General Committee of Public Instruction and by inspectors, much will depend upon the selection of examiners. If well

qualified they will make up for many deficiencies elsewhere; but nothing will compensate for the absence of intelligence, energy, honesty, and discretion on their part. They should be competent to understand and appreciate the object of Government, and to engage in promoting it with zeal untainted by fanaticism and with calmness that shall not degenerate into apathy. They should be thoroughly instructed in the subject-matter of the series of school-books, and possessed of integrity and firmness to require, in resistance both to the reproaches and blandishments of unworthy candidates, the degree of qualification which shall alone entitle to reward and distinction. The emoluments of the office should be fixed at such an amount as will present an immediate object of ambition to the class from which the examiners will chiefly be drawn; and they should be so graduated as to afford the prospect of promotion, and thus stimulate to the discharge of duty and operate as a check upon misconduct or neglect. With these views I have proposed that the examiners should receive for the first four years of service a consolidated allowance of 150 rupees per month, and I now add that they should receive for the second four years a corresponding allowance of 200 rupees per month, and for the third four years 250 rupees per month, after which an examiner shall be eligible to be appointed an inspector of a division with a consolidated allowance of 500 rupees per month. Promotion from one grade to another should, of course, be made to depend on good conduct in the preceding grade; and it should always be given, if possible, in the same district and division. No arrangements will afford security in every case against the possibility of malversation, but those now proposed will, I should hope, in most instances command the honourable and industrious exertions of qualified natives.

Having noticed the objections to which the measure may be deemed liable, and the difficulties with which it may be attended, I must be permitted to advert to some of the advantages by which it is recommended.

The primary advantage is the coincidence of the plan with all existing institutions of education. It introduces the metropolitan organ of Government, the General Committee of Public Instruction, to new and higher duties than any which have yet engaged its attention, but to none inconsistent with those which it has hitherto discharged. The district English schools or colleges and the vernacular departments attached to them will be extended, their scholars multiplied, and their efficiency increased. The native schools will have a new life infused into them, the qualifications of school-masters and the attainments of scholars will be raised, and a more anxious desire will be produced amongst parents that their children should enjoy this improved instruction. The plan does not come into collision with indigenous elementary schools, or with the interests of the teachers. On the contrary, it

enlists them all in the race of improvement and establishes the most friendly relations with them. The leading idea upon which the plan is framed is that of *building on the foundations which the people themselves have laid* and of employing them on the scaffolding and outworks, so that when they shall see the noble superstructure rising, and finally raised complete in all its parts, they will almost, if not altogether, believe it to be the work of their own hands. The plan will thus maintain the most perfect congruity with existing national institutions, and at the same time admit of the gradual expansion and improvement which European civilization demands.

Another recommendation of the plan is the simplicity of the means employed. The examiner with his books and his public examinations is the prime agent, both giving and prolonging the impulse. For this purpose he will not, as in other cases, have to follow the school-masters and the scholars into their villages, their huts, and their school-rooms; to reprove into order and quiet the noisy irregularity of the teacher; to guide in detail the desultory labors of the scholar; and to stimulate to some effort or sacrifice the stolid ignorance of the parent. If the plan work at all, it will make parents, scholars, and school-masters all alike ambitious to earn the distinctions and rewards which it holds out. It contains within itself a self-acting principle which only requires to be directed and controlled.

It is, perhaps, an effect of this simplicity, but still a separate and distinct advantage, that the plan, whether tried on a large or on a small scale, and whether fully successful or not successful to the extent anticipated, can be productive only of good unmixed with evil. It may be introduced into new districts as they are found prepared for it, or it may be discontinued without injury or injustice in any district where it has been found to work unsatisfactorily, provided always that all promises and engagements shall be faithfully performed. The good done will be certain, and Government may either extend, contract, or abandon the plan without embarrassing any native institution, but on the contrary leaving those who have been influenced by it with an increased power of self-dependence.

Instead of considering the expense an objection, the plan will be found economical when compared with the completeness and diffusiveness of the effect. The expense of a school is made up of various items, the cost of a school-house and its furniture, the pay of the teacher, the price of pens, ink, leaves, paper, and books, and if the institution is a Government one, the charge for superintendence. In ordinary cases much of this apparatus produces no distinct or appreciable result. Of any given number of scholars, say 100, who engage in a particular course of study, perhaps not more than 50 generally acquire a satisfactory proficiency.

The incapacity and negligence of both teachers and scholars cause a great waste of time, of labor, and of money; and even the successful student is successful with a much greater consumption of these means than is indispensable. The economy of the plan now submitted is that in respect of time, of labor, and of money, it throws all the expense of many of the preliminaries of education and of all inefficient study and instruction upon parents, teachers, and scholars, and that it bestows the resources of Government only in reward of efficient study, for the production of the actual and perfect result of successful instruction, and for such apparatus as is necessary to prove that this result has been attained. The effect also will be more general than might at first appear. Let it be supposed that in a district of eighteen thanas, twenty-five school-masters in each thana will annually bring forward their pupils for examination; that each teacher can pass only six of his scholars; and that he is at liberty to offer to the extent of twelve, if any of the first six should be rejected. They will, according to this arrangement, bring forward 5,400 of their scholars, but of these not more than 2,700 can be declared qualified, and perhaps not more than half that number will pass the examination successfully. Even 1,350 scholars in one district and within one twelve-month thoroughly instructed in any one of the school-books I have described would be an ample return to Government for the expenditure incurred. But the benefit would not rest here. The whole number of scholars, 5,400, must be deemed by their teachers qualified for examination, else they would not be brought forward; and the unsuccessful candidates or those scholars whom, as it may happen, it was not necessary to examine at all, must have attained much, and many may have attained all, that would have been required of them. It is by no means necessary to suppose that even the whole number produced for examination will be the whole number instructed. On the contrary, they will be the very *elite* of the little village flocks, and those flocks will be composed of hundreds and thousands of other scholars in various degrees instructed in the same useful knowledge, all hoping one day to distinguish themselves, and all stimulated by the impulse which Government will have given to the cause of public instruction. The plan will ultimately be as economical to the people as to the Government. At first the approved teachers will probably affix a higher price on the superior instruction they will be qualified to bestow; but the facilities to acquire this superior qualification will be open to all, and many new competitors with equal advantages will rapidly enter the profession, while at the same time the demand for instruction will keep constantly increasing. Under those simultaneous and counteracting influences, a new rate of remuneration will come to be formed, the advantage of which, as in all improved processes that are in general demand will be in favor of the community; and when this new rate shall

be modified in any district, by the general adoption of the system of endowments, the cost of educating their children will be reduced to the people to the extent of one-half. Even if the amount of fees and perquisites should remain the same without reduction, the value received from the teachers of youth will be far greater, which both to parents and scholars is the best kind of economy.

It is, perhaps, admissible to regard as an advantage arising from the plan that it affords an opportunity of employing for the benefit of the country the class from which I propose to draw the inspectors and examiners. Extraordinary efforts have been made to extend a knowledge of the English language to the natives; but those who have more or less profited by the opportunities presented to them do not find much scope for their new attainments, which, on the other hand, little fit them for the ordinary pursuits of native society. They have not received a good native education, and the English education they have received finds little, if any, use. There is thus a want of sympathy between them and their countrymen, although they constitute a class from which their countrymen might derive much benefit. There is also little sympathy between them and the foreign rulers of the country, because they feel that they have been raised out of one class of society without having a recognized place in any other class. If they were employed in visiting the different districts as the agents of Government for promoting education, they would fulfil a high destination satisfactory to their own minds and would not fail to enjoy the respect and affection of their countrymen. The qualifications required of them would teach them, what is so important to their own usefulness and hitherto so much neglected, to unite the acquirements of an English and a native education, since it is only by means of the latter class of acquirements that English principles and ideas can be generally transfused into, and incorporated with, the native character.

The only other recommendation of the plan which I will now suggest is that it would be a proper complement to a measure that has been already adopted. It would be worthy of the Government which has decreed that the business of the country shall be conducted in the language of the people. This is so important a measure and bears so directly upon the present subject that I subjoin here the Resolutions of Government relating to it. The following is the Resolution of the Governor General of India in Council :—

#### RESOLUTION.

“The attention of His Lordship in Council has lately been called to the Regulations of the Bengal Code, which positively enjoin the use of the Persian language in Judicial and Fiscal proceedings. His Lordship in Council is sensible that it would be in the

highest degree inexpedient hastily to substitute any other language for that which has, during a long course of years, been appropriated to the transaction of public business. He is satisfied that in many parts of the country a sudden and violent change would produce serious public inconvenience, and that it would reduce many old and useful servants of the public to distress,—such as no humane Government would willingly cause. At the same time His Lordship in Council strongly feels it to be just and reasonable that those judicial and fiscal proceedings on which the dearest interests of the Indian people depend should be conducted in a language which they understand. That this great reform must be gradual, that a considerable time must necessarily elapse before it can be carried into full effect, appears to His Lordship in Council to be an additional reason for commencing it without delay. His Lordship in Council is, therefore, disposed to empower the Supreme Executive Government of India, and such subordinate authorities as may be thereunto appointed by the Supreme Government, to substitute the vernacular languages of the country for the Persian in legal proceedings and in proceedings relating to the revenue. It is the intention of His Lordship in Council to delegate the powers given by this Act for the present only to the Governor of Bengal and to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, and he has no doubt that those high authorities will exercise these powers with that caution which is required at the first introduction of extensive changes, however salutary, in an old and deeply-rooted system."

In conformity with ~~this~~ Resolution Act XXIX. of 1837 was passed, making it lawful for the Governor General of India in Council by an order in Council to dispense with the provisions which enjoin the use of the Persian language and to prescribe the language and character to be used in its stead, and further empowering him to delegate those powers to any subordinate authority. Such a delegation of powers having, accordingly, been made to the Deputy Governor of Bengal, that authority passed the following Resolution:—

#### RESOLUTION.

"The President of the Council of India in Council having been pleased on the 4th ultimo, in conformity with Section 2, Act XXIX. of 1837, to delegate to the Deputy Governor of Bengal all the powers given to the Governor General in Council by that Act, the Deputy Governor has resolved that, in the districts comprised in the Bengal division of the Presidency of Fort William, the vernacular language of those districts shall be substituted for the Persian in judicial proceedings and in proceedings relating to the revenue, and the period of twelve months from the 1st instant shall be allowed for effecting the substitution. His Honor is sensible that this great and salutary reform must be introduced with caution, involving as it does.

the complete subversion of an old and deeply-rooted system. He, therefore, vests the various heads of departments with a discretionary power to introduce it into their several offices and those respectively subordinate to them by such degrees as they may think judicious, only prescribing that it shall be completely carried into effect within the period abovementioned. For His Honor's information, a report of the progress made in the introduction of this measure will be required on the 1st July next, and again on the 1st January 1839. Ordered that a copy of the above Resolution be transmitted to the General Department for the issue of instructions to the above effect in respect to the offices subject to that Department."

*Judicial and Revenue Department, 23rd January 1838.*

It is scarcely possible to over-estimate the importance of this measure to the character of the Government and the welfare of the people. The object is to give the people, or to enable them to acquire through their own language, a knowledge of what may affects their interests—what constantly, deeply, and extensively affect their interests—in the judicial and fiscal departments of Government. The effect will be to bring within the reach of Government for administrative purposes a large amount of cheap and useful native agency of which it has hitherto voluntarily deprived itself, and to rescue the great body of the people who know only their own language from those who, under the covert of a foreign tongue, misrepresent and pervert the cases of prosecutors and accused, the claims of plaintiffs and defendants, the evidence of witnesses, the wishes of petitioners, and the decisions of Judges, defiling the stream of justice, impeding its course, and exciting the disgust and disaffection of those who seek healing in its waters. The facility of complaint through the vernacular tongue will also deter many from the commission of crime and injustice who are now encouraged to the perpetration of them by the knowledge that the injured will be prevented from seeking redress through the difficulty, expense, and liability to abuse of the official medium of communication. But if this measure will prove important and useful, as it undoubtedly will, standing alone and by itself, its importance and utility will be incalculably increased if followed by the establishment of a national system of instruction through the medium of the vernacular tongue. If the use of the language of the people will enable every man to understand the statement of his own case, even when he is wholly ignorant of his mother tongue except as a spoken language, how much more complete his protection if he knows it as a written language. If the employment of a cheap Bengali writer, or pleader, or attorney, or agent instead of a dear Persian one will be economical and protective to the poor man, how much more economical and protective will it be if he can make known his wishes, explain his case,

prefer his complaint, or engage in his defence in his own name, or through another under his own intelligent control and superintendence. If Government by this measure, even in the present state of vernacular instruction, will find ampler means placed at its disposal for the cheaper and more efficient administration of local affairs, how much greater will be the scope afforded when the kind of instruction shall be improved, and when this superior instruction shall be generally diffused. Now, then, is the time for Government to step forward and provide good teachers for the people and good books for teachers. Every consideration combines to show the advantage of following up the measure that has been already adopted with that which is now recommended. If any other consideration were wanting, it would be found in the grateful affection with which, under any circumstances, but especially in such a connection, it would be received by the people.

### SECTION III.

#### APPLICATION OF THE PLAN TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF SANSKRIT INSTRUCTION.

The whole of the preceding details and reasonings contemplate the application of the plan to vernacular schools only. The principle, however, is to build on the foundation of native institutions generally, and, wherever they are to be found, to employ them as the instruments through which instruction may be most salutarily and most effectually communicated. I shall now consider what means may be employed to improve the system of instruction in the class of Sanskrit schools which are found in every district, and of which some account is given in the seventh and eighth Sections of the first Chapter. I do not propose that any thing should be done to extend or multiply such institutions. All that is proposed is, since their number and influence are undoubted, to bring them over to the side of true, useful, and sound knowledge. If there were no vernacular schools, it would still be desirable that there should be such schools for the instruction of the people. If there were no Sanskrit schools, their existence perhaps would not be desirable merely for the purposes of public instruction, which is the only subject now under consideration. But since they do exist, and since we cannot, if we would, cause them not to be, it is the plain dictate of common sense and of a wise policy not to despise and neglect them, but to conciliate, if possible, the good feelings of the learned and to employ their extensive and deep-seated influence in aid of the cause of public instruction. For the information of the reader I shall quote in this place some of the most prominent authorities I have met with on the encouragement to be given to native learning and the use to be made of it.



In the records of the General Committee of Public Instruction I find a copy of a Minute dated 6th March 1811, ascribed to the Governor General, Lord Minto, and bearing also the signatures of the Members of Council, G. Hewett, J. Lumsden, and H. Colebrooke. This Minute possesses the greater interest both because it bears Mr. Colebrooke's signature, and because it is believed to have suggested the provision on the same subject in the 53rd of George III. The following is an extract :—"It is a common remark that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India. From every inquiry which I have been enabled to make on this interesting subject, that remark appears to me but too well founded. The number of the learned is not only diminished, but the circle of learning, even among those who still devote themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people. The immediate consequence of this state of things is the disuse, and even actual loss, of many valuable books; and it is to be apprehended that, unless Government interfere with a fostering hand, the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless from a want of books, or of persons capable of explaining them. The principal cause of the present neglected state of literature in India is to be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains, and opulent individuals under the native governments. Such encouragement must always operate as a strong incentive to study and literary exertions, but especially in India, where the learned professions have little, if any other, support. The justness of these observations might be illustrated by a detailed consideration of the former and present state of science and literature at the three principal seats of Hindu learning, viz., Benares, Tirhoot, and Nudiya. Such a review would bring before us the liberal patronage which was formerly bestowed, not only by princes and others in power and authority, but also by the zemindars, on persons who had distinguished themselves by the successful cultivation of letters at those places. It would equally bring to our view the present neglected state of learning at those once celebrated places; and we should have to remark with regret that the cultivation of letters was now confined to the few surviving persons who had been patronized by the native princes and others under the former Government, or to such of the immediate descendants of those persons as had imbibed a love of science from their parents. It is seriously to be lamented that a nation particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the empire should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindus, and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature. It is not, however, the credit alone

of the national character which is affected by the present neglected state of learning in the East. The ignorance of the natives in the different classes of society, arising from want of proper education, is generally acknowledged. This defect not only excludes them as individuals from the enjoyment of all those comforts and benefits which the cultivation of letters is naturally calculated to afford, but, operating as it does throughout almost the whole mass of the population, tends materially to obstruct the measures adopted for their better government. Little doubt can be entertained that the prevalence of the crimes of perjury and forgery so frequently noticed in the official reports is, in a great measure, ascribable both in the Mohammadans and Hindus to the want of due instruction in the moral and religious tenets of their respective faiths. It has been even suggested, and apparently not without foundation, that to this uncultivated state of the minds of the natives is, in a great degree, to be ascribed the prevalence of those crimes which were recently so great a scourge to the country. The latter offences against the peace and happiness of society have indeed for the present been materially checked by the vigilance and energy of the Police, but it is probably only by the more general diffusion of knowledge among the great body of the people that the seeds of these evils can be effectually destroyed."

The Minute then proceeds to recommend certain measures consisting in the reform of the Hindu College at Benares and the Mohammadan College at Calcutta, and the establishment of two new Hindu Colleges, one at Mudiya and the other in Tirhoot; and of two new Mohammadan Colleges, one at Bhaugulpore and the other at Jaunpore. The cost of the two new Hindu Colleges was estimated at sicca rupees 25,618 per annum. The recommendations have been, in a great measure, superseded by subsequent arrangements, but some of them contain useful hints which may still be turned to account,—one is that pensions should be granted to distinguished teachers on condition that they deliver instructions to pupils at their own houses, another is that public disputations should be held annually at which prizes, rewards, and literary honors should be conferred on such of the students as shall have manifested the greatest proficiency. Both are judiciously adapted to Hindu usages.

With apparent reference to this Minute of 1811, it was enacted in the 53rd George III., Cap. 155, Section 43, "that it shall be lawful for the Governor General in Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues, and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions after defraying the expenses of the military, civil, and commercial establishments, and paying the interest of the debt in manner hereinafter provided, a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the

introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India; and that any schools, public lectures, or other institutions for the purposes aforesaid, which shall be founded at the Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or in any other part of the British territories in India in virtue of this Act, shall be governed by such regulations as may, from time to time, be made by the said Governor General in Council, subject nevertheless to such powers as are herein vested in the said Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India respecting Colleges and Seminaries: Provided always that all appointments to offices in such schools, lectureships, and other institutions, shall be made by or under the authority of the Governments within which the same shall be situated." It is perhaps scarcely necessary to remark that the literature to be revived and improved can only be the existing literature; that the learned natives of India to be encouraged can only be those who are already learned, not those who are to become so by the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences; and that, therefore, the sum thus directed to be appropriated is applicable, in part at least, to the revival, improvement, and encouragement of the existing learned institutions of the country.

The late Mr. J. H. Harington wrote a paper dated June 19, 1814, entitled "Observations suggested by the provision in the late Act of Parliament for the promotion of science and literature amongst the inhabitants of the British possessions in India." In these observations Mr. Harington examines at some length the preliminary question whether the English language should be employed as the medium of communicating knowledge to the natives, or whether the vernacular and learned languages of the country are the more appropriate instruments. The following is the conclusion at which he arrives:—"My own idea, on an imperfect consideration of so extensive a subject, is that both of the plans noticed have their advantages and disadvantages; that neither the one nor the other should be exclusively adopted, but that both should be promoted as far as circumstances may admit. *To allure the learned natives of India to the study of European science and literature, we must, I think, engraft this study upon their own established methods of scientific and literary instruction, and particularly in all the public colleges or schools maintained or encouraged by Government, good translations of the most useful European compositions on the subjects taught in them, may, I conceive, be introduced with the greatest advantage.*"

The somewhat adverse views on this branch of the subject presented by Lord Moira's Minute already quoted must not be withheld:—"The immediate encouragement," His Lordship says, "of the superior descriptions of science by any bounty to the existing colleges appears to me a project altogether delusive. I do not believe that in these retreats there remain any embers capable

of being fanned into life. It is true the form of tuition is kept up in them, but the ceremony is gone through by men who are (as far as I could learn) devoid of comprehension in the very branches which they profess to teach. I was particularly curious to assure myself of the state of learning in the university of Benares, the place where one should expect that ancient acquirements would be found in the best preservation. My incompetence to judge on the subject of the answers given by the young men examined before me did not extend to the manner of their performance, which was such as inspired the notion that every thing they said was wholly by rote. On following up this suspicion, I learned that I had guessed accurately. I remained satisfied that the students only got by heart certain formularies unexplained to them by professors incapable of expounding the spirit of the lessons. Of course, the instruction unless where it chanced to fall on some mind uncommonly vigorous and acute would have very limited effect in future application; and if it did happen to be bestowed on a genius able to unravel it, the rational calculation was that it would only render him more dexterous in those crooked practices which the depraved habits of the community would offer to his imitation. I thence conceive that the revival of the liberal sciences among the natives can only be effected by the previous education (beginning with the rudiments) which shall gradually give to individuals the power of observing the relations of different branches of learning with each other, of comprehending the right use of science in the business of life, and of directing their enlargement of thought to the promotion of those moral observances in which rests the temporal convenience of society as well as the sublimer duty of man. Then, but not till then, such records or such traces of ancient lore as remain in the universities may be useful. Consequently to this opinion I must think that the sum set apart by the Hon'ble Court for the advancement of science among the natives would be much more expediently applied in the improvement of schools, than in gifts to seminaries of higher degree."

On this passage it is necessary to remark that the institution which Lord Moira describes as "the university of Benares" was most probably the Government college at that place, which there is reason to believe was about the time of His Lordship's visit in a very inefficient condition. Such, at least, is the only way I can account for the statement given, unless on the supposition that the Governor General and his informants may have misapprehended the real facts of the case before them. It would certainly be unjust to apply the above description to the schools of learning in Bengal and Behar that have originated with the natives themselves and are under their management; for although, in the usual course of study, the scholars no doubt commit a great deal to memory, it is not scribbledly committed, but is in general thoroughly understood.

and digested. Teachers also of sufficient repute to attract scholars around them will seldom be found deficient in the power of explaining what they profess to understand and to teach. It is of more importance, however, to remark that Lord Moira anticipated the revival of the liberal sciences among the natives from such a previous education, beginning with the rudiments, as should show the connection of the different branches of learning with each other, explain the right use of science in the business of life, and direct intellectual improvement to the promotion of personal and social morality; and if the schools of learning, as well as the common schools, can be made conducive to such purposes, we may infer from the excellent sense and genuine benevolence which characterize his Minute, that the design would have received His Lordship's cordial sanction.

No one has more earnestly urged the duty of communicating European knowledge to the natives than Mr. Hodgson, no one has more powerfully shown the importance of employing the vernacular language, as the means of accomplishing that object, and no one has more eloquently illustrated the necessity of conciliating the learned and making them our co-adjutors in this great work of national regeneration:—"Two circumstances," he says, "remarkably distinguish and designate the social system of India,—one, its inseparable connection with a recondite literature, the other, the universal percurrency of its divine sanctions through all the offices of life, so as to leave no corner of field of human action as neutral ground. Can these premises be denied? And if not denied, can it be necessary to deduce from them a demonstration of the unbounded power of the men of letters in such a society? Or of the consequent necessity of procuring, as far as possible, their neutrality in respect to the inception of measures, the whole virtual tendency of which is to destroy that power? Touch what spring of human action you please, you must touch at the same time the established system: touch the spring with any just and generous view of removing the pressure which that system has laid on its native elasticity, and you must at the same time challenge the hostility of that tremendous phalanx of priestly sages which wields an inscrutable literature for the express purpose of perpetuating the enthralment of the popular mind. However much the splendour of our political power may seem to have abashed these dark men, the fact is that *their* empire over the arts and understandings of the people has been, and is almost entirely, unaffected by it. With the Saga of Pompeii they say—'The body to Cæsar, the mind to us'—a profound ambition, suited to the subtle genius of their whole devices, and which I fear some of us commit the lordly absurdity of misinterpreting into impotency or indifference! Before we have set foot almost upon *their* empire, it is somewhat premature to question their resources

for its defence against intrusion. Their tactics are no vulgar ones, nor will they commit themselves or sooner or further than is needful. We now purpose to spread our knowledge; they know it, and they know the consequence. But so have we for half a century purposed the spread of our religion! The purpose must become act, and the act become, or seem likely to become *generally*, successful, ere these subtle men will confront us openly; and perhaps not then, if Heaven inspire us with the prudence to conciliate, check, and awe them by the freest possible resort to that sacred literature which they *dare not* deny the authority of, *however used*, and which assuredly is capable of being largely used for the *diffusion of Truth*! Time has set its most solemn impress upon that literature; the last rays of the national integrity and glory of this land are reflected from its pages; consummate art has interwoven with its meaner materials all those golden threads which Nature liberally furnishes from the whole stock of the domestic and social affections and duties. To the people it is the very echo of their heart's sweetest music; to their pastors—their dangerous and powerful pastors—it is the sole efficient source of that unbounded authority which they possess. To deny the existence of that authority is mere moon-struck idiocy. To admit it, is, I conceive, to admit the necessity of compromise and conciliation, so far as may be.”—*Letters* pp. 47, 48.

To deny the existence of that authority were indeed vain, and it is equally clear that the admission involves the necessity of compromise and conciliation; but it by no means follows that the learned, whose influence it is desirable to enlist on the side of popular instruction, are the “dark” and “dangerous” men they are here described to be. The ascription to them of such a character, even if it were deserved, must tend rather to defeat, than to promote, the object of conciliation which the writer has in view, and which is so important to the success of a general system of education. But it is not deserved. The learned natives of India are what we are ourselves, the creatures of the circumstances in which they and we have been placed. They are the spiritual, as we are the political, despots of India; and if proper means of compromise and conciliation are employed, unaccompanied by language or acts of fear, of distrust, or of jealousy, they will, in general, readily co-operate with us in measures for the improvement of their countrymen. They have too firm a belief in the sacredness of their own persons, character, and office, too firm a hold of the popular mind, to doubt for a moment of the security of their spiritual sway. The chief difficulty I anticipate will not be to inspire them with the requisite sentiment of benevolence towards the poor and ignorant, but with the requisite conviction of *our* sincerity in the professions we make of a desire to promote their welfare.

The preceding extracts exhibit opinions entitled to great consideration; but a closer analysis and more detailed statement of the grounds on which I would rest the importance and necessity of adopting measures for the improvement of Sanscrit instruction, are desirable.

*First.*—Sanskrit schools occupy so prominent a place in the general system of instruction established throughout the country, that means should be employed for their improvement, and not only on account of *the influence which the learned exercise* or may exercise over the remaining population, but for the sake of the learned themselves as a distinct and numerous class of society. I refer to page 61 to show the extent of this class in the districts noticed in this report. In one district alone, that of Burdwan, there are 190 teachers, and 1,358 students, of learning; and in the city of Moorshedabad, where the number is fewer than in any of the other localities, there are 24 teachers, and 153 students. If we find that a particular class of native institutions brings together in one city and in one district so many teachers and students of learning who, if proper means were employed, would readily open their minds to European knowledge, why should we not avail ourselves of the facilities which those institutions present?

*Second.*—The language of instruction in the schools of learning is regarded with peculiar veneration. It is called *the language of the gods*. It is probable that in one of its most ancient and simple forms it was the original language of Brahmanism, and was introduced into this country by its Hindu conquerors. Instruction communicated through this medium will be received by the learned class with a degree of respect and attention that will not otherwise be conceded to exotic knowledge. Why should we refuse to avail ourselves of this mode of gaining access for useful knowledge to the minds of a numerous and influential class?

*Third.*—Sanskrit is the source and origin of all the *Hindu vernacular dialects* spoken and written throughout India and the adjoining countries, with as close an affinity, in most instances, as exist between Latin and Italian, or between ancient and modern Greek. These dialects are as numerous, are spread over as wide a surface, are employed by as populous races, and are as thoroughly nationalized among those races, as the corresponding dialects of Europe in European countries. Learned Hindus refer with pride to the number of languages that have sprung from the parent Sanscrit, and they derive from it their vocables, their idioms, and their structure. Just in proportion as the use of the vernacular dialects extends for the purposes of education and administration, will the value of the Sanscrit be felt. It is the great store-house from which, as intellectual improvement advances, those dialects will seek and obtain increased

power, copiousness, refinement, and flexibility. "Any number of new terms," says Mr. Hodgson, applying to the Indian Pracrits a remark made by Sir James Mackintosh respecting German, "any number of new terms, as clear to the mind and as little startling to the ear as the oldest works in the languages, may be introduced into Hindi and Bengali from Sanscrit, owing to the peculiar genius of the latter, with much more facility than we can introduce new terms into English; nor does the task of introducing such new terms into the Indian vernacular imply or exact more than the most ordinary skill or labor on the part of the conductors of education so long as they disconnect not themselves wholly from Indian literature."

*Fourth.*—The Sanscrit language is the common medium of communication between the learned in the different countries and provinces inhabited by the Hindu race, however differing from each other in dialect, manners, and customs. A Hindu educated in the learning, peculiar to his faith and nation, need not be, and is not, a stranger in any of them, although possessing no personal acquaintance, and although ignorant of the dialect of the country or province to which he may have proceeded. This is found to be a great practical convenience in the performance of the numerous pilgrimages which piety or superstition enjoins. By the same means also the learned productions of one province or country in time become the common property of all the learned throughout India. In the Bengal schools of learning young men, both from the western and southern provinces of India, are found pursuing their studies, and Bengalis, after finishing their studies in Bengal, often proceed into the western provinces for the purpose of acquiring those branches of learning which are not usually cultivated here. Sanscrit, without the secrecy, has thus all the advantages of the masonic sign and countersign. It is a pass-word to the hearts and understandings of the learned throughout India. In consequence of this established mutual interchange of knowledge, if any improvement can be introduced into the system of instruction in the schools of learning of Bengal and Behar, we may hope that it will gradually work its way among the entire learned body throughout the country.

*Fifth.*—All the learning, divine and human, of the Hindus, is contained in the Sanscrit language. Religion, philosophy, law, literature, and medicine; all the learning that enters into the daily practices of their faith and is connected with the established customs of their race, their productions of taste and imagination, and the results of their experience of life and manners, all are found in the Sanscrit language, and in that only as their source and repository. Doctrine, opinion, and practice; the duties of the present life and the hopes of the future; the controversies of sects and the feuds of families, are ultimately determinable by authorities



which speak only through that medium. The inference is obvious. If we would avail ourselves of this vast and various literature, for the moral and intellectual regeneration of India, we must stretch out the right hand of fellowship to those who can alone effectually wield its powers, and by patronage and conciliation obtain their willing co-operation.

*Sixth.*—The *patronage of Government* bestowed on schools of learning *would be most gratefully received both by the learned themselves and by the native community.* It would entirely coincide with the customs of native society. Sanscrit schools have been frequently endowed by wealthy Hindus; the teachers are constantly invited, feasted, and dismissed with presents on occasions of important domestic celebrations; and both teachers and students, independent of all other considerations of castes and condition, are held in the greatest respect by the community. In the opinion of the learned themselves—an opinion which they have frequently expressed to me—it is the duty of rulers to promote learning, by which they, of course, mean Sanscrit learning. If common schools and their teachers are encouraged as I have proposed, while Sanscrit schools are neglected, it may be feared that the hostility of the learned will be often incurred, and that, through their all-penetrating influence, they will raise serious obstacles to the spread of popular instruction. On the contrary, if their schools, as well as the vernacular schools, are patronized, their own interests will be identified with the success of the Government plan, and we may confidently rely on their co-operation. It is not, however, on the ground of expediency only that this recommendation is offered. Sanscrit schools and teachers may be made to conduce as effectually to the spread of sound and useful knowledge as vernacular schools, with only this difference that each class of institutions will operate in a field from which the other is excluded. In Sanscrit schools we shall gain access to a large and influential class which by any other means we shall be unable to reach, and which it is of the utmost importance to the welfare of society should advance as the rest of society advances. There is no class of persons that exercises a greater degree of influence in giving native society the tone, the form, and the character which it actually possesses, than the body of the learned, not merely as the professors of learning, but as the priests of religion; and it is essential to the success of any means employed to aid the moral and intellectual advancement of the people, that they should not only co-operate, but also participate, in the progress. If we leave them behind, we shall be raising obstacles to our own success, and retarding the progress of the whole country.

Learned Hindus will gratefully receive all the encouragement which we are willing to bestow, but it may still be made a question whether they would introduce books of useful knowledge on science and the arts into the regular course of their instruction.

That amongst so numerous a body none will prove hostile or indifferent would be too much to expect; but in my own experience I have met with only one instance, that of a pundit in Rajshahi who expressed an unfriendly feeling to popular instruction. Poor and unpatronized, he asked me what advantage the extension of popular instruction would bring to him,—a question which rather confirms the view I have before presented regarding the character and expectations of the class. In another instance, that of the respectable pundit of the judge's court at Mozufferpoor in Tirhoot, I found that all my attempts at explanation did not apparently remove from his mind the suspicion of some ulterior object, and he appears to have communicated his doubts to other learned men in that district to whom the subject was mentioned. This, however, was by no means generally the case. In conversation I have received repeated assurances from many pundits of their readiness to teach European science and learning in their schools, provided that the works put into their hands do not embrace the subject of religion on which they most distinctly intimated that they will teach, and countenance nothing but what is in their estimation strictly orthodox. In the Rajshahi, Moorshedabad, Beerbhoom, and Burdwan districts I had frequent conversations with pundits on this subject, and generally with the most satisfactory results; but it did not occur to me, till after leaving those districts, to ask any of them for their written opinions. On my return, however, to Calcutta, I put a case in writing before the pundits of the Sanscrit College, and subsequently before such pundits as I met in the districts of South Behar and Tirhoot, a translation of which, with their answer and the signatures attached to it, I subjoin. Two pundits of the Burdwan district, whom circumstances had prevented me from seeing when in their native district, followed me to Calcutta, anxious to give a full and correct account of their schools that it might be included in this report, and they took the opportunity, at the same time, of expressing their assent in writing to the opinion of the Calcutta pundits. More recently two pundits from the Jessore district and my own pundit belonging to the same district have, of their own accord, requested permission to add their names.

#### CASE.

##### *To the Learned.*

“I have observed that the teachers of Hindu learning in this country in their respective schools instruct their pupils Hindu learning only. There are, however, many English books of learning, in which arithmetic, mechanics, astronomy, medicine, ethics, agriculture, and commerce are treated at length. I beg to be informed whether, if such works, exclusive of those which relate to

religion, were prepared in Sanscrit, there is, or is not, any objection to employ them as text-books in your schools."

W. ADAM.

#### OPINION.

"English books of learning, exclusive of those which are explanatory of the religion of the English nation, containing information on astronomy, ethics, mechanics, &c., and translated into the Sanscrit language, are of great use in the conduct of worldly affairs. In the same manner as the *Rekha Ganita*, the *Nilakanthiya Tajaka*, and other works, translated into Sanscrit from Arabic astronomical books, were found to be of much use, and were employed by former teachers without blame. So there is not the least objection on the part of the professors and students of learning of the present day in this country to teach and study books of learning translated from English into the language of the gods."

RAMCHANDRA VIDYAVAGISA,  
SAMBHUCHANDRA VACHASPATI,  
HARANATHA TARKABHUSANA,  
NIMAICHANDRA SIROMANI,  
HARIPRASADA TARKAPANCHANANA,  
PREMCHANDRA TARKAVAGISA,  
JAYA GOPALA SARMA,  
GANGADHARA TARKAVAGISA,

(*Professors of the Sanscrit College, Calcutta*).

KAMALAKANTA VIDYALANKARA.

(*Private Professor, Calcutta*).

HARACHANDRA NYAYAVAGISA,  
GURUCHARANA TARKAPANCHANANA,

(*Private Professors, Burdwan District*).

PANCHANANA SIROMANI,  
BACHARAMA NYAYARATNA,  
GIRVANANATHA NYAYARATNA,

(*Private Professors, Jessore District*).

The preceding case, opinion, and signatures are written in the Sanscrit language and Bengali character. The following signatures are attached to a separate paper of precisely the same import in the Nagari character :—

CHAKRAPANI SARMA,  
CHINTAMANI SARMA,  
HARI SAHAYA SARMA,  
HARILAL SARMA,  
BHAWANI DIN SARMA,

(*Private Professors, South Behar*).

The following signatures are attached to a third paper of precisely the same purport :—

PARMANANDA SARMANA,  
KALANATHA SARMANA,  
THAKUR DATTA SARMANA,

*(Private Professors, Tirhoot District).*

No effort has been used to obtain these signatures, and in every case they were received with such explanations as left the pundits perfectly free to give or withhold them. An unqualified concurrence of opinion was expressed by all those pundits to whom the subject was mentioned, with the exception of those in Tirhoot where, as the poor and ignorant are poorer and more ignorant, so the wealthy and the learned are more narrow and bigoted, than the corresponding classes in other districts. Even in Tirhoot, the three pundits who signed, expressed the opinion that, if any measure was adopted for the encouragement of learning, those who now appear most timid and suspicious would be most forward to participate in the advantage. Upon the whole, I entertain no doubt that the majority of the learned in Bengal and Behar will readily co-operate with Government, if they are allowed to receive a share of the general encouragement to be given to the teachers of sound and useful knowledge.

The only remaining questions are to what extent their co-operation may be required, and with what rewards it should be acknowledged and secured—

*First.*—The text-books employed should not be mere translations either from English or Bengali, but original works on the same subjects as the Bengali series, with such additions of matter and of illustration as will include the substance, both of European and of native knowledge, on the branches treated. The learned will thus be taught on the one hand to identify their feelings and interests with those of their countrymen in general, and encouraged on the other hand to employ their greater leisure in thoroughly studying the subjects on which the welfare of the people and the prosperity of the country depend. We may thus hope that the profound, acute, and vigorous intellects that are now laboriously employed on vicious fables and fruitless speculations will receive a practical bias from which the happiest results may be expected.

*Second.*—To every examiner a pundit should be attached to aid him in examining those pundits who may accept books for study and afterwards offer themselves for examination, in the same manner as has been described with respect to teachers of vernacular schools. The assistant-pundit should be the most distinguished and most highly respected in the district, that the weight of his talents and repute may conciliate public approbation to the measures of Government; but he should be made

subordinate to the examiner to correct the local influences by which he may be guided, or which may be ascribed to him. An allowance of 30 rupees per month including travelling charges will in general obtain the services of such a pundit, to be raised after periods of service of four years to 40, 50, and 60 rupees, dependent on good behaviour. After this, the assistant-pundit to an examiner should be eligible to hold the appointment of assistant-pundit to an inspector of a division with a salary of 100 rupees per month, or any other appointment in the native branch of the service which he may be ambitious to attain, such as those of pundit attached to the district court, of moonsiff, of sudder ameen, &c., the purpose being to stimulate his zeal and strengthen his integrity by always placing before him a higher object of ambition than any he has yet reached.

*Third.*—The same course generally will be pursued towards teachers of schools of learning as has been proposed towards teachers of vernacular schools. They will first receive books in which, after the requisite time allowed for study, they will be examined; and after a satisfactory examination their names will be registered, transmitted to Calcutta, published in the *Gazette*, and proclaimed in the district as those of approved pundits, of all which a certificate will be given. When a pundit after having been satisfactorily examined receives the second volume of the series he will be entitled to claim the use of three, six, nine, or twelve copies of the first for the instruction of his pupils, and so on in the four successive stages of the course. Approved pundits, like approved vernacular teachers, will be entitled to attend at the normal school of the district for four years, and for three months in each year, and to receive, during that period, subsistence-money and travelling expenses. The modes of instruction in schools of learning are in general much superior to those practised in the vernacular schools, but the normal schools may be, and it is hoped will be, conducted in such a way that even pundits may derive much instruction from them in the art of teaching. When a pundit shall have passed an examination in each of the four volumes of the series, when he shall have attended the normal school for four years, three months in each year, and when he shall have instructed six pupils in each of the four volumes, he will become, not entitled, but eligible, to an endowment of the same value as that proposed for the vernacular teachers of the same district. The number of endowments for vernacular teachers must be limited only by the wants of the population. The number of endowments for teachers of learning must be limited by very different considerations. They must be so few as not to be a burthen to the State. They must be so many as to give a hold on the whole body of the learned in a district. These objects will probably be attained by some such rule as the following, viz., that endowments shall be set apart for schools of learning

in some fixed proportion to their number, say, in the proportion of one to six. Thus the 24 Sanscrit schools in the city of Moorshedabad would have four endowments distributed among them, provided that all the twenty-four teachers established their eligibility; and so with every other locality. Probably this will not be deemed too high a proportion, and if found too low to elicit the competition and co-operation of the body of pundits, the value of each endowment might be raised, or the number increased. With regard to the best mode of bestowing these endowments on the learned, it may be sufficient at present to remark that the pundits who are found by the possession of the requisite qualifications to be eligible to them, may be examined by written queries and answers on subjects calculated to enlarge their views both of their own deficiencies and of the wants of the country and of their duty to seek self-improvement for the sake of the general good; and those whom fit judges may determine to be the most worthy should receive the reward accompanied with all the forms which may give weight and honour to the distinction. When a vacancy occurs of any of the endowments given to the learned, it may be filled up in the same way by the open competition of all who are eligible.

*Fourth.*—To induce teachers to communicate the improved instruction to their scholars and the latter to seek for that instruction, various motives will be presented. With regard to the teachers, the copies of the first volume of the series which they will receive for the use of their scholars will become their own property, only by producing an equal number of instructed scholars. They will further receive a corresponding number of copies of the second book of the series for the use of their scholars, only if they shall be found to have made a proper use of those copies of the first received for the same purpose; and so also with regard to the third and fourth volumes. Still, further, one of the qualifications for holding an endowment will be that the teacher shall have instructed six scholars in each of the four volumes of the series. The success also with which learned teachers pass themselves and their scholars at the periodical examinations will come to be a measure of the public repute they enjoy in their native districts, and thus increase the number of invitations and the amount of presents they receive, and perhaps in many cases induce wealthy zemindars to bestow on them endowments exclusive of those appropriated by Government to the class of the learned. With regard to students of learning, they will be attracted, as in the case of vernacular scholars, by the curiosity and pleasure which new and useful knowledge will inspire by the love of display which a public examination will gratify, by the ambition of having their names, designations, and places of residence registered as those of approved students, by the prospect of eligibility to the English school of the district after completing

the series of text-books, and by the further prospect of eligibility to one of the endowments set apart for the learned when they shall have acquired all the necessary qualifications. Native opinion leads me to think it probable, that these motives will prove so powerful to the majority of the students of learning that it will be proper before admitting them to examination to require them to establish by testimonials from their teachers that they have passed through a regular course of grammatical study, lest, in their anxiety to distinguish themselves in the new course of instruction, they should neglect that indispensable preliminary to the successful cultivation of the Sanscrit language and literature.

*Fifth.*—The *native medical schools* rank with schools of learning; and, keeping steadily in view the principle of turning to account all existing institutions, both European and Native, it is worthy of consideration whether the native medical schools may not be usefully employed, in connection with the medical college of Calcutta, in improving and extending sound medical instruction. In Rajshahi I found one medical school containing seven students taught by two professors; in Beerbhoom another containing six students taught by one professor; in Burdwan four medical schools containing forty-five students taught by four professors; and in South Behar two medical schools containing two students taught by two professors. All these students were not receiving medical instruction, but in part were pursuing those literary studies which are deemed indispensable preliminaries to a course of professional study; and some of the professors had other students besides those who were either studying, or preparing to study, for the medical profession. Is not this a class of institutions which it should be our object to draw out of obscurity? When it is considered how ill-provided the body of the people are with medical advice and assistance even on ordinary occasions, and much more in seasons of pestilence and disease prevailing locally or generally, is it not our duty to endeavour to increase the number of these institutions and to extend their usefulness by improving the instruction which the teachers communicate? The only answer that can be returned by a wise and humane Government will be by asking how such an object can be accomplished, and the only reply I can make is by reverting to the plans which I have already suggested and which I believe will be found of equal efficacy in their application to medical as to other schools of learning. The first step will be to prepare a separate series of text-books in Bengali, or Hindi, or Sanscrit, or both in Sanscrit and in one of the vernacular languages. They should embrace elementary views and illustrations of the most important and useful branches of medical science and practice, including, in Mr. Hodgson's language, both exotic principles and local practices, European theory, and Indian experience. The next step will be to induce the medical teachers to study the text-books so prepared; and for this purpose the

course that has been already described should be adopted and the same inducements offered; public examinations, presents of books to the teachers for themselves and for their scholars, the registry and publication of their names as those of approved medical teachers, and finally, eligibility to one of several endowments expressly appropriated in each district to the medical profession. In this way Government in a very few years might multiply approved medical teachers to any extent that the wants of the country might demand. The next step would be to extend the instructions of the approved teachers, and here again the same appliances offer themselves. To the teachers would be given books only in proportion as instructed scholars are produced, and the instruction of six scholars in each text-book would be required as an indispensable qualification for the eligibility of the teacher to an endowment. To the scholars the motives will be the pursuit of new and useful knowledge, the love of display at a public examination, the ambition of distinction by the registry and publication of their names as those of approved medical students, eligibility to the English school of the district, eligibility to a course of instruction in the medical college of Calcutta, and finally, eligibility to a medical endowment in their native districts. The effect of all this is, I think, not to be doubted; and it would be cheaply purchased by the employment of such means. It would revive, invigorate, enlighten, and liberalize the native medical profession in the mofussil; it would afford to the Calcutta college a perennial supply of well instructed native medical students from every district in the country; and it would send them back to their native districts still better instructed, and both qualified and disposed to benefit their countrymen, to extend the advantages of European knowledge, and to conciliate the affections of all towards their European rulers.

*Said.*—It should be distinctly understood that all teachers of learning who accept of the patronage of Government shall be at perfect liberty to teach their own systems of religion, philosophy, science, and literature; and that the works prepared for their use shall contain nothing derogatory to their faith, or recommendatory of any other. On the other hand, it should be no less distinctly understood that the patronage of Government will be bestowed on the learned solely and exclusively in proportion to the degree of their proficiency in the new system of instruction, and to the degree of zeal, judgment, and integrity with which they co-operate in promoting the success of the measures adopted by Government for the instruction of the whole body of the people. In other words, they will neither be prohibited from teaching that which they believe, nor required to teach that which they believe not; but they will be rewarded only for doing or promoting that which, in the estimation of all, has a plain and direct tendency to benefit all.



## SECTION IV.

## APPLICATION OF THE PLAN TO THE IMPROVEMENT AND EXTENSION OF INSTRUCTION AMONGST THE MOHAMMADAN POPULATION.

The encouragement given to the existing vernacular schools and to the Hindu schools of learning will embrace the whole of the male Hindu population, and will carry rich and poor, learned and unlearned, forward in the path of improvement with mutual good-will and co-operation, and with a common and joint feeling of attachment and gratitude to the source from which the advantage is derived. The measures requisite for the improvement and extension of instruction amongst the Mohammadan population demand separate consideration.

The first question that arises here is—What is the fit means to be employed for communicating some useful knowledge of letters to the poor and uninstructed, which is by far the most numerous portion of that population ?

I have shown in another place that Persian instruction is the only substitute for vernacular instruction peculiar to the Mohamaddin population, and that the language has a strong hold on native society ; but it is on the upper class of native society that it has this hold, and it has not descended, and cannot be expected, to descend, to the body of the Mohammadan population. To them it is foreign and unknown, and consequently unfit for being employed as the medium of instruction to the people. To those who are instructed in it, it is the language of books, of correspondence, and of accounts ; not the language of conversation in domestic life or of the general intercourse of society. It has been shown also that even those who cultivate it as the language of books of correspondence and of accounts are found in five districts in the proportion of 2,087 Hindus to 1,409 Musalmans. There can be little doubt that the official use that has been made of it by Government and its functionaries is the sole reason for its cultivation by Hindus ; and as many Musalmans have the same interests to protect by the same means, the reason for its cultivation by them also must be deemed in many instances to be the same. When, therefore, the measures that have recently been adopted for the discontinuance of the Persian and the employment of the vernacular language in public business shall have full effect, it may be expected, not only that all the Hindus, but that a considerable proportion of the Musalmans, who would have otherwise had their children instructed in Persian, will have recourse to some other medium. The use of the Persian is at present in a state of transition. What the ultimate effect of the present measures may be is yet to be seen, but it cannot be deemed favorable to the cultivation of the language ; and whatever

the natural and unforced use which the social and religious wants of the Musalman population may give it, the Persian can never be regarded in this country as a fit instrument of vernacular instruction.

For a *language of instruction* to the Musalman population we must turn from the Persian to some of the vernacular dialects, Bengali, Hindi, or Urdu. In Bengal the rural Musalman population speak Bengali; attend, indiscriminately with Hindus, Bengali schools; and read, write, correspond, and keep accounts in that language. With the exception, therefore, of a portion of the Musalman population of large cities in Bengal, the means that have been already described for the promotion of vernacular instruction in this province through the medium of the Bengali language, may be deemed adequate for Musalmans as well as Hindus. The rural Musalman population of Behar use the Hindi language to some, although not to an equal, extent; and when the plan for the promotion of vernacular instruction shall be applied in Behar through the medium of the Hindi language and Nagari character, it will be found to embrace a considerable proportion of the rural Musalman population; but it will leave a considerable proportion of that population, and also of the urban Musalman population who speak Urdu, unprovided with the means of vernacular instruction; and, for their benefit, it would seem desirable that distinct arrangements should be made. Those arrangements will consist merely in the preparation of a separate series of school-books in the Urdu language and Persian character, differing from the similar works prepared in Bengali and Hindi chiefly in the subject-matter of the first volume of the series, which should contain the most approved and complete course of native instruction known amongst Musalmans in India on the Persian model. Such a series of school-books will make the transition easy from the system of Persian schools at present so numerous in Behar and now ceasing to be adapted to the wants of the country, to the system of Urdu schools which the measures of Government will soon render indispensable. They will bring within the reach of the humbler classes of the Mohammadan population whatever really useful knowledge is found in the Persian school-books; and they will help to raise those classes to a community of feeling and of information with the superior classes of their co-religionists and with the general intelligence of the country.

The second question bearing on the improvement of the Mohammadan population is—What is the *fit means to be employed* for improving the instruction communicated in Mohammadan schools of learning and for obtaining the co-operation of the learned in the prosecution of the measures that may be adopted to extend instruction to the Mohammadan population generally?

Mohammadan schools of learning are not so numerous as those of Hindus, but they are in general more amply endowed, and the teachers enjoy the same high consideration in Mohammadan society and exercise the same powerful influence that belong to the corresponding class of the learned in Hindu society. The same remarks apply to those institutions that were made respecting Sanscrit schools. We have not called them into existence, nor is it any part of our object to increase their number. We find Arabic schools long established in the country possessing in several instances large resources, and taught by men intelligent, learned, revered, influential, anxious to compare their systems of knowledge with ours, and willing to aid us in the measures that may be devised for the instruction of their countrymen. In the search of instruments with which to work out good for the country, these institutions cannot be wisely neglected. The only question that can be raised is as to the way in which they may be made available.

Without minutely repeating the same details, it is sufficient to remark that the course which has been suggested to be pursued towards Hindu schools of learning will probably be found equally applicable to those of Mohammadan origin. A series of textbooks in Arabic, public examinations both of teachers and scholars, and the distinctions and rewards appropriate to each already described would, there can be little doubt, produce the desired effect. Learned Musalmans are in general much better prepared for the reception of European ideas than learned Hindus; and when they shall have become convinced of the integrity of our purpose, and of the utility of the knowledge we desire to communicate, they will be found most valuable coadjutors.

The endowed Mohammadan institutions of learning present another class of means for improving the State of instruction. I would equally deprecate the appropriation by the state of the property belonging to such institutions and its misappropriation by private individuals. The rights and duties of all institutions of this class should be defined and general rules laid down to preserve their property, purify their management, and provide for their effectual supervision and real usefulness. With these views a determinate course of study should be prescribed, a visiting power exercised, and periodical returns required. It is utterly futile to leave the visiting and controlling power over such institutions in the hands of what are called the local agents under the Board of Revenue, since the offices of collector and magistrate, usually filled by the same persons, completely absorb their time and attention. In so far as such institutions exist for educational purposes, their superintendence and direction on the part of Government should be vested in the General Committee of Public Instruction and exercised through the officers subject to its

authority. Properly regulated, such institutions as those at Kusbeh Bagha, at Bohar, at Changhariya, and at Moorsshedabad, would become centres of improvement, sending forth all sorts of salutary influence to the districts in which they are situated.

The reform of the office of cazy, besides other direct and collateral advantages, would furnish Government with an extensive and cheap agency in every district for the improvement of Musalman institutions of education.

The following extract from the revised edition of the first volume of the late Mr. Harington's analysis of the regulations will exhibit the rules in force for the appointment of city, town, and pergunnah cazies, together with the nature of the duties expected to be performed by those officers:—"The judicial functions which pertained to the office of cazy-ul-cuzat, or head cazy, and in some instances to that of inferior cazies, under the Mohammadan government, have been discontinued since the establishment of the courts of justice under the superintendence of British judges; and, with an exception to the law officers attached to the civil and criminal courts, the general duties of the present cazies stationed at the principal cities and towns and in the pergunnahs which compose the several zillahs or districts, are confined to the preparation and attestation of deeds of conveyance and other legal instruments, the celebration of Musalman marriages, and the performance of ceremonies prescribed by the Mohammadan laws at births and funeral and other rites of a religious nature. They are eligible, however, under the regulations to be appointed commissioners for the sale of property distrained on account of arrears of rent, as well as commissioners for the trial of civil causes, and are also entrusted by Government in certain cases with the payment of public pensions. It is, therefore, necessary that persons of character who may be duly qualified for the subsisting office of cazy should be appointed to that station, and encouraged to discharge the duties of it with diligence and fidelity by not being liable to removal without proof of incapacity or misconduct. The cazy-ul-cuzat, or head cazy, of several provinces under this Presidency, and the cazies stationed in the cities, towns, or pergunnahs within those provinces, were accordingly declared by Regulations XXXIX., 1793, and XLVI., 1803, not to be removable from their offices, except for incapacity or misconduct in the discharge of their public duties, or for acts of profligacy in their private conduct; and the rules subsequently enacted in Regulations V., 1804, and VIII., 1809, concerning the appointment and removal of the law officers of the courts of justice, were extended to the local cazies by Section 10 of the former Regulation and Section 4 of the latter. At the same time the office of cazy is declared (in Section 5 of Regulations XXXIX., 1793, and XLVI., 1803, respectively,) 'not to be hereditary;' and it is further provided in these regulations that when the office of cazy in any pergunnah,

city, or town, shall become vacant, the judge within whose jurisdiction the place may be situated is 'to recommend such person as may appear to him best qualified for the succession from his character and legal knowledge. The name of the person so recommended is to be communicated to the head cazy who, if he shall deem him unqualified for the office, either from want of legal knowledge or the badness of his private character, is to report the same in writing.' It is likewise 'the duty of the head cazy to report every instance in which it may appear to him that the cazy of any city, town, or pergunnah is incapable, or in which any such cazy may have been guilty of misconduct in the discharge of his public duty or acts of profligacy in his private conduct.' And a similar report is required to be made by the judges of the zillah, city, and provincial courts to the court of sudder dewanny adawlut, with whom it vests to confirm the appointment or removal of the cazies of cities, towns, and pergunnahs under Section 4, Regulation VIII., 1809."

As far as I am aware, such continues to be in all essential particulars the legal position of the office of cazy, and I will now illustrate its practical working by a brief abstract of certain documents relating to a single district, that of Tirkoot, which I have been permitted to examine in the judicial department. From these documents it appears that there were in 1818 in that district eighteen cazies appointed to one hundred pergunnahs containing 8,431 villages, and discharging their duties by means of forty naibs or deputies. In that year, their number was reduced to fourteen and their jurisdictions equalized. Those eighteen cazies, in virtue of their offices, held rent-free lands amounting to 352 bighas, and they received in the form of salaries or allowances from Government sicca rupees 4,396-1-6 per annum; but these disbursements were suspended at the time mentioned in consequence of its having been found on inquiry that they were altogether unauthorized by Government. It was, however, deemed probable that some allowance would hereafter be granted for their support. The amount of fees received by them for attesting deeds, entering them in their books, and granting copies, varied from four annas to two rupees for each deed. The inferior Musalman castes who employ the cazies at marriage ceremonies pay a fixed fee of one rupee, of which four annas are the understood perquisite of the cazy's deputy, and the remaining three-fourths are received by the cazy himself. A similar division is probably made of the fees received by deputies for notarial acts. As the office of cazy at present exists, considerable abuse is practised. A fee of from one to five per cent. on the value of the thing transferred is exacted for affixing the seal to deeds of consequence. At the arbitrary will of the cazy, a different rate is paid for malguzary and lakhiraj lands transferred, and it not unfrequently occurs that considerable delay and difficulty is made on the part of the cazy in

affixing the seal, with a view to increase of emolument, or from other interested motives. In practice, it sometimes, perhaps often, occurs that a candidate for the cazyship is sent to be examined by the mufti of the court, and on his report the candidate is recommended by the judge. Evil arises from the non-residence of the cazies. They invest the whole of their authority in deputies, who generally purchase their situations and make as much of them as they can by the most unjustifiable and illegal means. The Mohammadan law officers of the sudder dewanny adawlut gave a formal opinion, when the subject was referred to them, that the cazies have no power to appoint deputies unless expressly permitted to do so, and such permission they never do receive.

My personal inquiries in the different districts I have visited confirm many of these statements. The frauds arising out of the non-regulation of the office of cazy were brought very earnestly to my notice and made the subject of strong representation. I happened to meet with a munsiff who is also the cazy of two separate pergunnahs and who performs the duty in both by deputy; and I was informed of two others who were only twelve and thirteen years of age, respectively,—one of them being still at school pursuing his studies. They were stated to be brothers, the sons of a person who was the former cazy of both pergunnahs, and whom after his death they were permitted to succeed. The point, however, to which I solicit special attention is the character, in respect of learning, of the former race of cazies compared with that of the present race. It is maintained by Mohammadans of the present day that even pergunnah cazies under the former Government were invariably learned men, and that it was indispensable that they should be so to enable them with credit to determine questions of Mohammadan law. At present they are, with scarcely any exception, unlearned, although the name of maulavi is sometimes assumed where it is not deserved. In one instance only of those that came under my notice and inquiry was the cazy a really learned man. Their usual attainments do not extend beyond a knowledge of reading, writing, and accounts in Persian. I infer from the abuses and frauds which are connected with the office, if not promoted by the office-holders, from the case of the two boys who succeeded their father, showing that the notion of hereditary succession to this office is not yet eradicated; from the case of the munsiff-cazy acting by deputy, proving that the opinion of the Mohammadan law officers of the sudder dewanny adawlut is not enforced; and from the generally unlearned character of the cazies, establishing that the "legal knowledge" shown by Mr. Harington to be required by the regulations is not possessed; from these premises I infer that the office of cazy needs reform, and what I submit is that the reform which it may receive should, in addition to other objects, be made the means of improving the state of learning amongst the Mohammadan population.

For this purpose, in addition to the ordinary attainments of a learned Musalman, I would require that the candidate for the office of cazy shall have passed successfully through examinations in the four Arabic text-books prepared under the orders of Government for the use of Mohammadan schools of learning; and that he shall have instructed six pupils in each of those books in such a manner as will have enabled them also to pass through similar examinations. The office of cazy would thus be raised from one of insignificance, uselessness, and sometimes positive injury to the community, to one of great importance and direct utility. Amongst the most disaffected portion of the population, the proposed measure would raise up a body of instructed men existing solely by the will of Government, capable of appreciating and explaining its measures, and exercising a powerful and undisputed influence over the whole Musalman population of their jurisdiction. Without additional expense, it would furnish Government with a ready-made body of examiners of the Urdu teachers and scholars of the district. The effect would be an increased feeling of satisfaction and attachment to the Government, in addition to all the other advantages that may be expected from the growth of intelligence and information, of public principle, and of private morality in a community.

## SECTION V.

### APPLICATION OF THE PLAN TO THE INSTRUCTION OF THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

The preceding arrangements will gradually and effectually provide for the promotion of vernacular instruction and the preservation of learning amongst the Hindu and Mohammadan divisions of the population; but within the limits of the British territories in India there are numerous and widely-spread tribes who acknowledge no affinity of race or of language, no sympathy in manners or in religion, with either. A scheme of national instruction that should leave them out of view would be essentially defective.

The Santhals, a tribe of this description, are found in considerable numbers in the Beerbhoom district, and came there under my personal observation. In one thana I found 786 Santhal families containing 4,261 persons, being considerably more numerous than the Musalmans of the same thana; and they are found in still greater number in the north and west of the district. They are also found in the Bhaugulpore district, in the jungle mehals or West Burdwan, and in the Midnapore district; but in greatest abundance in Coochung, Bamanhati, and Dolphoom in Ramghur on the western and southern frontier of Bengal. The

Dhangars, a well known division of the Cole tribe, are also found, but in less number, in Beerbhoom; and Singhbhoom is chiefly occupied by the Coles. In Orissa three distinct mountain or forest races are found,—the Coles, the Kunds, and the Sours. The inhabitants of the hills in the districts of Bhaugulpore and Rajmahal are known to Europeans in connection with the name of Mr. Cleveland, "who, without bloodshed or the terrors of authority, employing only the means of conciliation, confidence, and benevolence, attempted and accomplished the entire subjection of the lawless and savage inhabitants of the jungleterry of Rajmahal who had long infested the neighbouring lands by their predatory incursions, inspired them with a taste for the arts of civilized life, and attached them to the British Government by a conquest over their minds,—the most permanent, as the most rational, mode of dominion." On the eastern frontier of Bengal we find the Kookies or mountaineers of Tippera and the Garrows occupying the mountainous country between the Kassya Hills and the Brahmaputra. The Kassya tribes occupy the country from the plains of Sylhet in Bengal to Gowhatti in Assam, and there are other uncivilized hill tribes of Assam enumerated by Dr. McCosh, as the Akas, Duphlas and Koppachors; the Miris, the Abors, Bor-Abors, and Mishmis; the Singhphos and the Nagas, all more or less acknowledging subjection to the British Government or living under its protection, exclusive of the Assamese, Manipuris, Cacharis, Kangtis, and Mattucks, who are either Hindus, or Buddhists, or have a written language. The space intervening between Bengal, Orissa, and Nagpore, is the country of the Gonds, numerous and divided and sub-divided. Still further west and along and beyond the Taptec and Nerbudda in Malwa, and in all the eastern quarter of Guzerat, are the Bheels who meet the coolies in Guzerat. In the peninsula we have the Todas, the Emlars, the Curumbar, and the Cohatars, and the extent to which these and similar tribes prevail may be estimated from a statement recently made by Colonel Briggs at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of London that, from his personal knowledge of the south of India, Brahmanism had not spread there, and that most of the peninsula was inhabited by persons not Hindus.

This must be received as a very loose and imperfect notice of the tribes scattered all over the face of India, but principally possessing its forest and mountain-tracts, who may be conjectured to be the remnants of the Autochthones or indigenous population existing before the occupation of the country by the Hindu, the Mohammadan, and the European races. Are these tribes to be allowed to remain in the rude and barbarous condition in which they have come under the dominion of the British Government? The Cole insurrections and the frequent necessity for the service of troops against the Kassya tribes and against the Bheels, compared with the peace which has been maintained amongst



the Rajmahal mountaineers by Mr. Cleveland's arrangements, show the advantage that would accrue to Government by extending that conquest over their minds which, by the Bengal Government of 1784, was justly declared to be at once "the most permanent" and "the most rational mode of dominion." Since the date of this declaration—an interval during which British armies have overrun and subjugated almost the whole of India—what means have been employed to effect this higher and nobler species of conquest over the hill-tribes? I am aware that much may be, and has been, done to civilize those tribes by promoting and protecting industry, by administering justice between man and man, and by punishing crimes against society. But such moral conquests can be secured only by that knowledge and those habits which education gives, and the means of education have hitherto been very sparingly employed. The only institutions, as far as I am aware, formed under this Presidency for their benefit, are a school at Bhangulpore in which a few of the children of the Rajmahal tribes are taught English and Hindi; a school established at Surgeemaree in Rangpur for the Garrows, some of whose children were for a while taught their own language in the Bengali character, the Bengali language, and the English language; and an English school established for the Ramghur Coles. The two last mentioned institutions no longer exist, and it would thus appear that the ground is almost wholly unoccupied.

The present Government has recently expressed sentiments on this subject, to which it may be hoped that some means may be devised of giving practical effect. During the past year it was ascertained that amongst the Kunds, one of the three aboriginal races mentioned above as being found in Orissa, an extensive system of human sacrifice is practised; and when this subject was brought to the notice of the Governor of Bengal the following instructions were communicated to the commissioner and superintendent of the Tributary Mehals in Cuttaek, under date 14th March 1837:—"His Lordship has perused the details given by you of the system of human sacrifice prevalent among the Kunds with feelings no less of horror than surprise. He is well aware of the difficulty of dealing with a description of crime which, however unnatural and revolting, has been sanctioned by long usage as a national rite and confirmed by the gross delusions of the darkest ignorance and superstition. *The working of a moral change among the people* BY THE PROGRESS OF GENERAL INSTRUCTION AND CONSEQUENT CIVILIZATION *can alone eradicate from among them the inclination to indulge in rites so horrible.* But though the entire suppression of the practice of human sacrifice among this wild and barbarous race must be the work of time, yet much may be done even now, and no proper exertion should be omitted towards checking the frequency of the crime by the

terror of just punishment. His Lordship is fully prepared to sanction the use of judicious measures in aid of the power of the Rajah of Duspullah whenever that chieftain shall have discovered the commission of this crime in any of his villages. Immediate injunctions should be issued, not to him only, but all other Tributary Rajas having nominal authority over a Kund population, expressive of the views of the British Government and of its determination to do all in its power for the effectual repression of this atrocious practice. You will be pleased to report upon every instance in which in your opinion the British power in support of that of the Rajahs themselves may be exerted without the hazard of serious embarrassment and disturbance. The Governor is not disposed to accord his sanction at once to your proposal for the annual progress of a military force under an officer vested with the power of summary punishment for the purpose of suppressing human sacrifices. This point may be considered and decided on before the commencement of the ensuing cold season. Should it appear by the failure of the contemplated measures of interference that the chiefs of the Kunds are either unable or unwilling to exert themselves effectively for the maintenance of order and repression of crime, the expediency of the occupation of the country, or of some part of it, by British troops may become a question for consideration."

It is here announced to be the expectation of Government that, in addition to the coercive measures contemplated, the cessation of these atrocities will be effected chiefly by the progress of civilization as a consequence of general instruction. But general instruction, especially in the case of these fierce and unruled tribes, can be communicated only by a Government that knows its value and consults large and general interests. If without the employment of direct means for the communication of general instruction, we trust to the unaided progress of civilization, centuries may elapse before it reaches them. Some specific plan, then, must be formed, and some specific provision made to communicate that instruction which is justly regarded by Government as the necessary forerunner of civilization. In the present state of our knowledge respecting these tribes, it seems probable that no one plan would be adapted to them all, but they have several characteristics in common. They have several distinct languages amongst them with affinities to each other, but with no affinity to the dialects that are of Sanscrit derivation and are used by the different Hindu tribes. They have no written character, and consequently no instruction in letters; no caste in a religious sense, although they have numerous distinctions of tribes; and no peculiar prejudices or jealousy respecting their women who mix freely in the ordinary intercourse of life. Their worship is Sabea, and their superstitions rude, unsystematized and often

cruel. They are in no case nomades, many live by the produce of the bow and arrow, but in general they cultivate the soil. To attempt to teach the English language indiscriminately to these savage tribes appears one of the wildest flights of benevolence. To teach them Hindi, or whatever may be the language of the contiguous district or province, is somewhat more rational. But the most judicious course appears to have been adopted, apparently on Bishop Heber's recommendation, with the Surgeon's school for the Garrows who were taught in the first place their own language in the Bengali character; then, if practicable, the Bengali language; and lastly, in the case only of the more intelligent boys, the English language. With respect to all the tribes bordering on Bengal, their own language in the Bengali character seems to be the proper medium of instruction; with respect to all the tribes bordering on Orissa, their own language in the Oria character; and with respect to all the tribes in Central and Western India, their own languages in the Nagari, Marathi, or Guzerathi character; in short, in every case their own language with the modification in respect of written character which convenience and utility may dictate. Having fixed upon a language and character, the next step would be to prepare some easy elementary but instructive books adapted to the comprehension of persons in a very low grade of civilization, but capable of raising them a grade higher. This would not present so great difficulties as might at first be supposed. I have understood that materials already exist for a dictionary of the language of the Rajmahal tribes, whose friendly disposition would suggest that a beginning should be made with them, and whose language when known would probably afford facilities for the acquisition of the dialects of some of the other hill-tribes. The means of communication also are by no means wanting. These tribes in general maintain regular communications with the more civilized races of the plains for the purpose of disposing of their own surplus produce and of purchasing articles which they need and do not themselves produce. In this way they acquire some knowledge of Bengali, Hindi, Oria, &c.; and Hindus, Musalmans, Orias, &c., mix with them and acquire a knowledge of their dialects. In my communications with Santhals, I employed as an interpreter, a Bepgali trader of this description, who had for many years trafficked with them and who appeared to possess a very good colloquial knowledge of the Santhali dialect. With the aid of these persons the necessary books might be prepared; and the same persons, or others who would be found to qualify themselves, might be employed to go amongst them as teachers, and by means of the system of public examinations and rewards to teachers and scholars, modified as circumstances might suggest, the love and desire of knowledge would take root in their minds, and its elevating and restraining influences be witnessed in their habits and pursuits.

## SECTION VI.

## APPLICATION OF THE PLAN TO FEMALE INSTRUCTION.

Another extensive class of the population unprovided with the means of instruction by the natives themselves is the female sex. I need not dwell here on the necessity of female cultivation in any country to its advance in civilization. This is, of course, admitted; and the privacy, subjection, and ignorance of the sex in this country, amongst both Hindus and Musalmans, are equally well known. All the established native institutions of education exist for the benefit of the male sex only, and the whole of the female sex is systematically consigned to ignorance, and left wholly without even the semblance of a provision for their instruction. The ignorance and superstition prevailing in native society, the exacting pride and jealousy of the men, the humiliating servitude and inaccessibility of the women, early marriages, juvenile widowhood, the interdiction of second marriages, and consequent vice and degradation, are obstacles to amelioration which appear all but insuperable. The only question that can arise is whether Government can with advantage interfere in the matter of female instruction, and this can be determined only by considering the actual or possible modes of interference.

There are three modes in which a beginning has been made to communicate instruction to native females. The first is by means of institutions in which they are not only taught, but fed, clothed, and lodged. The children are either orphans, or the daughters of native Christians, or of idolatrous parents. These institutions are exclusively under Christian management and the instruction is chiefly religious, but not to the exclusion of general knowledge and the arts of domestic industry. It must be evident that they give the teachers and superintendents an absolute control over the minds of the pupils, and this is the object of their establishment. They also tend to break the ties between parents and children in those cases in which the former are alive, especially if they are not Christians. The second mode is by the establishment of schools such as those described in Chapter 1st, Section XI., and referred to in Section XII., para. 5, p. 219. The children are the offspring of the poorest classes of native society. They are paid for attendance, and elderly females are employed to conduct them to and from school. This mode gives the teachers and superintendents a much less firm hold of the minds of the scholars, but it leaves the domestic tie unbroken. It is opposed to native prejudices, as it requires that the scholars should leave home to attend school, and it involves unproductive expenditure, as the matrons are paid only to secure attendance at school, not attention to study, and yet the reports of such institutions are filled with expressions

of regret on account of irregular attendance, slow progress, withdrawal from school after marriage, &c. The third mode is that which has recently been adopted by some wealthy and respectable natives who have commenced either themselves to instruct their female relatives, or for that purpose to admit female teachers into their families whom they retain as domestic servants. The rich and good-caste families will probably in general prefer this course, and they will be the more incited to it in proportion as the state of instruction amongst the female population is improved and in proportion as female instruction is extended to the poorer classes.

Under such circumstances, what can Government do without offence to promote female instruction, so essential an element of civilization and of public and private morality? One mode not only inoffensive, but probably highly acceptable, would be the preparation of a small series of books framed, of course, with a cautious avoidance of religious controversy and with a judicious adaptation to the character, condition, circumstances, and attainments of the sex in this country. If these books were introduced only into the two descriptions of female schools that have been described above, an important object would be gained; for the effect would be to improve the instruction of the native female Christian population, which is probably at present too narrow, and which, for their own sake as well as for the sake of the effect on society, should be rendered more comprehensive and practical. The pupils of these schools would thus be fitted to become the native female teachers of the country; but before being recognized as such, they should be required to pass through a series of examinations corresponding with what has been proposed for the male teachers of vernacular schools. When approved female teachers are thus obtained they might be encouraged, with the aid of books received in reward of their attainments, to offer their services to families on the plan of visiting the homes of their pupils, or of collecting them in a common neighborhood for instruction, with, of course, the consent of heads of families. A native female teacher who should thus devote five hours a day to the females of five different families, receiving two rupees a month from each family, in addition to the presents of clothes and food which would naturally flow from such a relation, might be considered well paid; and this is an expense which many native families would willingly incur, if Government will take the first step of preparing proper books and of vouching for the qualifications of teachers. In order to judge how far the teachers were entitled to the presents of books or other higher rewards, as endowments, &c., which it might be deemed advisable to hold out to them, it would be impossible to subject their pupils, as in the case of common schools, to public examinations; but this might be remedied, either by sending native female examiners, always, of course, with the consent of heads of families,

to ascertain and report the progress of the pupils of different teachers at fixed periods, or as a check upon such reports by receiving the certificates of heads of families as to the amount of instruction communicated by the teachers to their female relatives within the periods in question.

Without going further into details, it is sufficient to indicate the general views which have occurred to me on this subject, and to add that this mode of promoting female instruction is one which respectable native families have themselves shown a disposition to adopt, and that the stimulus and encouragement of Government would supply what is wanting for its prevalence.

## SECTION VIII.

### HOUSES OF INDUSTRY AND EXPERIMENTAL FARMS.

My chief object in this Section is to re-call attention to recommendations proceeding from the highest authorities which do not appear to have received all the consideration they deserve.

Lord Moira, in the Minute of 1815, to which I have had occasion repeatedly to refer, speaking of the state of public tuition in the principal towns, adds—"In these towns will also be found the same medium scale of education for the class of shop-keepers, artificers, and laborers as in the country villages, but in these towns and principally in the chief station of the zillah, and in the neighborhood of our jails, will be found a numerous population which seems to call for the particular attention of Government. I allude to the offspring of mendicants and vagrants who, nurtured in idleness and vice, are destined to recruit the ranks of the professional thieves infesting all great cities. *Houses of industry for the education, employment, and reformation of these infant profligates appear to be particularly needed.*"

The Court of Directors in a revenue letter to Bengal, dated 15th January 1812, makes the following remarks on the means of improving the system of Indian agriculture:—"To a Government taking an interest in the improvement of the country with a view to the increase of its own revenue, it might be a farther subject of consideration whether more could not be done than has hitherto been attempted towards bettering the system of Indian agriculture. The rural economy of the Hindus we understand, generally speaking, to be wretched in the extreme. The rudeness of their implements, the slovenliness of their practice, and their total ignorance of the most simple principles of science, are said to be equally remarkable. It has, however, been stated in a late publication that the agriculture of some parts of Mysore constitutes an exception to this remark, while it shows the Hindoo farmer in

certain situations to be neither stupid nor indocile. Whether the general system of cultivation be susceptible of improvement, and whether Government can successfully contribute to the accomplishment of so desirable an object, are questions, though of high moment, perhaps not easy of solution. But if an attempt at improvement is at all to be hazarded under the auspices of Government, it surely cannot be made in any way with such prospect of success as when coupled with a plan for rendering it subservient to the increase of the Government revenue as well as to the prosperity of its subjects. The nature of this attempt and the mode in which it ought to be directed would rest with those to point out whom residence in the country and an intimate acquaintance with the characters and manners of the natives may have qualified for giving advice upon such topics. It is of all things desirable to ascertain whether the rude implements and accustomed processes of the Indian peasant could be advantageously supplanted by those of Europe, and whether the establishment of experimental farms in various parts of the country under the superintendence of proper persons selected by Government for the purpose might not be useful, in the way of example, as a corrective of some of the vices and defects of the prevailing system. We are fully sensible that the poverty, prejudices, and indolence of the natives of India strongly operate against improvement. These are, in fact, the most inveterate enemies to improvement in all countries, but they are no where invincible when met with prudence, skill, and perseverance. We do not mean that we should vexatiously interfere with the usages of the inhabitants, or that we should attempt forcibly to change their habits,—far from it. But on the other hand, when their habits are bad, let us not plead their attachment to them as an apology perhaps for our own indolence in not endeavoring to correct them. Our efforts may for a long time be unavailing; but, if judiciously directed, we do not despair of their eventual success.”—*Selections, Vol. I., p. 66, paras. 99—105.*

The Honourable Court points so directly, in the concluding part of the extract, to another cause than “the poverty, prejudices, and indolence of the natives of India” operating against improvement, that it is not necessary to corroborate this prescient warning except by stating without comment that a period of about twenty-three years has elapsed since Lord Moira’s proposition was made for the establishment of houses of industry at the chief station of each zillah, and a period of about twenty-six years since the Court’s proposition for the establishment of experimental farms in various parts of the country; and that there is as much necessity now for re-urging the consideration and adoption of these or similar measures as there ever was. It may be hoped that the attention of Government will now be revived to both these designs with some practical result; and when the subject shall receive full consideration, it will probably appear that the Khas Mahals afford ample

scope and means for experimental farms and houses of industry with a view both to "the increase of the Government revenue" and "the prosperity of its subjects."

## SECTION IX.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS.

I have now completed the duty that was assigned to me. I have collected information respecting the state of native education, reported the results of my inquiries, and recommended those measures which observation and reflection have suggested. It is for Government to deliberate, to resolve, and to act. I am by no means sanguine that my views will be adopted; and even if they are generally approved with the modifications which may occur to others, I would guard against the supposition that I desire or expect them to be all immediately and simultaneously carried into operation. It is only by gradual and constantly widening efforts perseveringly and consistently directed to one object that the various agencies and institutions I have indicated can be fully utilized. If I were desired to state in what direction those efforts should be first employed, I would earnestly recommend that a beginning should be forthwith made with the series of measures suggested for the improvement and extension of vernacular instruction.

To whatever extent the present recommendations may be approved, and in whatever direction the efforts of Government may be primarily employed, I disclaim the expectation of producing a permanent or an extensive effect by education alone unaccompanied by the other appropriate aids of civilization, or by any means whatever in a very short time. No change that shall be at the same time salutary and lasting can be suddenly produced on personal, much less national, character. The progress of individuals and of classes in intelligence and morality to be sure and satisfactory must be gradual, and improvement by an almost imperceptible process interwoven with the feelings, thoughts, and habits of domestic and social life. Moreover, all great results affecting the condition and character of a whole people will be found to be attainable only by the concurrence of many causes. The effect of religion cannot be overlooked, although it is a subject with which, in reference to the native population, the Government of this country cannot justly or safely meddle. The influence of just and equal laws purely administered, security of person and property, freedom of industry and enterprise, protection from invasion and civil war, moderate taxation, and improved internal and external communication, in one word, the influence of good government must also be great in moulding the character of a people. But it may be confidently affirmed that while education without these



can do little, these without education cannot do all, and that even what they can accomplish will be much less complete and stable than when matured, directed, and steadied by the intelligence, the foresight, the consistency of purpose, and the morality of conduct which are the proper fruits of mental cultivation. Further, if it may be truly affirmed that education alone is inadequate to reform a people, *a fortiori* it will be admitted that instruction of any one kind, through any one medium, to any one division of the population, or by means of any one class of institutions must be insufficient for the purpose; and above all must this insufficiency be maintained in a country like India more resembling a continent, inhabited not by a single nation or people of one language, the same religion, and similar manners, customs, and habits, but by numerous and wide-spread nations and tribes, speaking different languages, professing different religions, and existing in totally dissimilar grades of civilization. No one means, no one language, no one system of institutions, can be adequate. All means, all the languages of the country, all existing institutions should be made subservient to the object.

The actual position and prevailing policy of Government demand the adoption of comprehensive measures for the promotion and right direction of national education. The position of Government is that of foreigners on a strange soil among people with whom no common associations exist. Every district has a single encampment of civil functionaries who administer its affairs, and who are so engrossed with details of public business while they remain in any one district, and are involved in such a constant whirl of change from one district to another, that it is almost impossible that any attachment can arise between them and the people, or that either can generally appreciate what is good in the other. We are among the people, but not of them. We rule over them and traffic with them, but they do not understand our character and we do not penetrate theirs. The consequence is that we have no hold on their sympathies, no seat in their affections. Under these circumstances, we are constantly complaining of the want of co-operation on the part of the people, while we do nothing to elicit it where it would be useful, or to make it intelligent and enlightened, if it were afforded. A wisely framed system of public instruction would, with other means, help to draw the people closer to the Government, give the Government a stronger hold on the affections of the people, and produce a mutual and answering sympathy between the subject many and the ruling few.

The prevailing policy of Government is characterized by various measures more or less directly bearing on the present question; by the equal eligibility to office of all classes of Her Majesty's natural-born subjects without distinction of religion, place of birth, descent, or color; by the extended, and ~~importantly~~ extending, employment of native agency for the purposes of local

administration, by the approaching general use of the languages of the people in transacting the public business of the country, and by the legalized freedom of the press. These immunities and powers were equally demanded by justice and conceded by wisdom, but it must not be forgotten by the friends of improvement in this country that just in proportion as civil and political privileges are extended, is the obligation increased to bestow upon the people that instruction which can alone enable them to make a fit and salutary use of their expanding liberties. Take, for instance, the measure which bestowed on the country the liberty of unlicensed printing. The press is in itself simply an instrument, a power, an agency which may be employed either for good or for bad purposes. The capacity of such an instrument to subserve useful purposes is an exact measure of its liability to abuse; and the only effectual security against the possible abuse of its power must be sought in the intelligence and morality of those who wield the instrument and in the check imposed on them by the intelligence and morality of the community which they address and to which they belong. The measure, therefore, legalizing the freedom of the press and all other measures tending to enlarge the civil and political rights of the natives of the country are not in themselves either erroneous in principle, or necessarily injurious in their consequences, but without a national system of instruction they will remain essentially imperfect, since it is instruction only that can give a right direction to the use of these new powers. As yet no time has been lost; but if we would raise an adequate safe-guard against evils which may be distant, but which are both possible and avoidable, Government will by a general system of instruction, timely established, teach the people the proper use of the mighty instrument that has been put into their hands, and of the various franchises that have been, and from time to time may be, bestowed.

Under any circumstances, our position in this country requires wary treading. In the actual case we have done and are doing little to conciliate and not a little to alienate the good feelings of the people. Individual cases, sometimes enlarging into classes, no doubt exist where a feeling of attachment to the English rule called forth by peculiar circumstances is strong and decided so long as those circumstances last and so far as their effect is felt. But among certain other classes dissatisfaction is not sought to be concealed; and the utmost that can be said of native society in general, even in its most favorable aspect, is that there is no hostility, but in place of it a cold, dead, apathetic indifference which would lead the people to change masters to-morrow without a struggle or a sigh. A system of national instruction, if judiciously executed, would be the commencement of a new era in the spirit and principles of our Government. Excluded as we are from much social intercourse with the natives of the country, it would be one of the most effectual means that could be employed to throw down

the barrier which the pride of foreign rulers and the prejudices of native society have combined to raise. In proportion as the scheme was extended over the country it would place the Government in friendly relations with every city, town, and hamlet, with every head of a family, with every instructor of youth, and with the entire juvenile population speedily to become the instructed adult population of the country. It would constitute a chain, the links of which would be found in every village and at every hearth. It would produce men not only able to understand the measures of Government, which would be something; but, what would be still better, morally disposed to appreciate the good intentions of Government and to co-operate in carrying them into effect.

"Sovereigns and chiefs of nations!" says DeFellenberg, "the fruitful source of sedition, of crime, of all the blood which flows upon the scaffold, is owing to the erroneous education of the people. Landlords! it is here you must seek the cause of all those obstacles which the idleness and growing vices of the laboring classes oppose to the increase of the produce of your estates."—"By degrading the people we dry up the richest source of power, of wealth, and of happiness which a State can possess."

"In the infancy of the British administration in this country," says Lord Moira, "it was perhaps a matter of necessity to confine our legislation to the primary principle of justice, 'not that nice and delicate justice, the offspring of a refined humanity but that coarse though useful virtue, the guardian of contracts and promises, whose guide is the square and the rule, and whose support is the gallows.' The lapse of half a century and the operation of that principle have produced a new state of society which calls for a more enlarged and liberal policy. The moral duties require encouragement. The arts which adorn and embellish life will follow in ordinary course. It is for the credit of the British name that this beneficial revolution should arise under British sway. To be the source of blessings to the immense population of India is an ambition worthy of our country. In proportion as we have found intellect neglected and sterile here the obligation is the stronger on us to cultivate it. The field is noble. May we till it worthily!"

CALCUTTA; }  
The 28th April 1838. }

W. ADAM.





